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# East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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24 February 1984

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**POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS**

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CZECHOSLOVAKIA

HRUZA FAULTS POPE'S STAND ON MISSILE DEPLOYMENT

Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 6 Jan 84 p 4

[Article by Karel Hruza: "The Vatican and Reaganite Gospel"]

[Text] It is a well-known fact that the Vatican -- the center of world Catholicism -- despite the numerous requests of the faithful as well as of the Catholic clergy has so far failed to take an open and above all specific stand condemning the adventurous warlike policy of the United States. From the Vatican one can hear general proclamations on the need for disarmament, on the necessity of banning nuclear weapons, on peace and so on. The Holy See, however, has not clearly said as yet that the deployment of new American nuclear weapons in West Europe represents a death threat to mankind.

It has not yet been said to U.S. President Reagan specifically: Mr President, you like to say that you are a Christian. Your nuclear warheads deployed in Western Europe, however, signify destruction and death, and this warlike activity has nothing in common with Christian morality and Christian ethics!

In contrast to the Vatican's policy, it is necessary to appreciate the fact that a considerable part of the Catholic faithful has recognized the impending nuclear danger and together with other inhabitants of Western Europe is participating in powerful protests against the deployment of American nuclear missiles.

It is also a fact that President Reagan's adventurous policy has also drawn the dissent of the North American Catholic bishops who several months ago issued a pastoral letter condemning the immoral nature of nuclear deterrence and called for a nuclear freeze. Because of this action, the American Catholic Bishop's Conference became the subject of displeasure of the White House. It came to light that shortly before the issuance of the pastoral letter, at the peak of the polemics between the White House and the bishop's conference, Reagan sent a personal emissary, General Vernon Walters, to the Vatican with the mission that the Holy See should exert its influence on the bishops to mitigate their stand. Rome's intervention was effective and the final version of the pastoral letter complied with it.

It is a sad fact that the French bishops at their November plenary session in the pilgrimage shrine of Lourdes issued a document which, though called a peace document, actually states that "nuclear weapons are a justified means of defense." French catholic bishops declared nuclear deterrence to be "legitimate." In the document they thus supported the stand of the North Atlantic Pact that the preservation of peace in the era of nuclear weapons depends of deterrence. The document was approved by 93 votes against 2, its text contains 5,000 words and is of an implicitly antisocialist nature. It speaks, for example, of "constant pressure exerted on Western democracies to become neutral and thus to be exposed to the influence of Marxist-Leninist doctrine." It further says: "The countries whose freedom, life and identity is threatened have the right to counter this radical threat also by the mutual nuclear threat."

L'HUMANITE fittingly characterizes this document of French Catholic bishops in the following way: "Some of its parts appear to be inspired by the Reaganite gospel about the empire of evil, and such a vocabulary of the Cold War which uses insults instead of arguments is really suitable for the preparation of a crusade and not for preservation of peace."

Another person who took his place among the supporters of American nuclear blackmail is the Roman Catholic primate of England and Wales, Basil Hume, who reprimanded the people protesting against the deployment of nuclear missiles in Britain. These people protesting against the Cruise missiles, he said, "do not have the right to transgress law." It is sad that instead of defending those who were arrested in front of the American missile base at Greenham Commons, he denounced these heroic fighters for peace.

The positions of the highest officials of the Catholic Church on the most important problems of today make it clear where they stand. The Vatican's policy is in flagrant contradiction to the doctrine of the Catholic Church itself, but above all to the vital interest of the faithful.

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GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

ARMED FORCES AFFECTED BY FUEL CONSERVATION MEASURES

East Berlin MILITAERTECHNIK in German No 6, 1983 (signed to press 9 Sep 83)  
pp 290-294

[Article by Col H. Malinka, economist: "Effective and Economical Use of Fuel and Lubricants"]

[Text] Our journal will publish on the basis of the second central military economic conference of the T/S [Fuel and Lubricants] Service of the NVA [National People's Army] and the Border Troops of the GDR the following article, based on a summary of the conference, as well as further articles. These represent some interesting and informative discussion topics on the problems of effective and economical use of fuels and lubricants. Editors.

The second central military economic conference of the T/S Service once again made it clear that an effective and economical use of fuels and lubricants by the NVA and the Border Troops of the GDR is of particular importance due to the considerable annual consumption, and it represents an important contribution to the necessary increases in combat power and combat readiness.

Combat readiness and combat power cannot be obtained at any cost. Instead--and that is true both in peace and war--they must be reached with the least possible cost in personnel and resources. Thus, the Fuel and Lubricants Service must never be concerned merely with savings for their own sake, but with the effective and economical use of fuels and lubricants to assure the success of all required combat, training, and security measures.

The more efficient the use to which the resources granted by the state to the armed services are put, the higher is the level of combat potential and the lower the proportion of resources that have to be detailed for defense purposes. This principle must be the constant basis for military decisions and actions on all levels of command. By doing this we are meeting the demand of Comrade Colonel General Kessler, deputy minister and chief of the Main Political Administration, who said at the Fourth meeting of the SED Central Committee, "It is important to explore ever more deeply the connections between military necessities and economic requirements, and, by being a good socialist soldier, also to be a qualified economist."

## 1. Petroleum Situation

The world petroleum situation as it currently exists is the basis for the observations. Apparently the maximum petroleum production has been reached in the world as a whole. In the next years stagnation or reduction in production is possible. With this objective limits have been placed on current and future uses of petroleum.

Price development in petroleum imports also plays an important role. It is well known that the petroleum prices on the capitalist oil market have risen considerably, with downright price jumps occurring in 1974, 1979, and 1980. In spite of the current stagnant or temporarily declining tendencies the prognosis for the 80s calls for further price increases.

Currently petroleum still accounts for 50 percent of the world's primary energy needs. In the future increased use of other energy sources and the application of alternative energy resources will be unavoidable. At the same time the more comprehensive processing of petroleum--better utilization of the raw material "petroleum"--gains primary importance.

The apparent developments in petroleum availability demanded new decisions for the GDR that were formalized in the decisions of the 10th Party Congress of the SED.

Measures of extraordinary importance to the national economy were delineated regarding more thorough processing of petroleum and the development of coal chemistry. The basic assumption was that the GDR will continue to draw a secure minimum in petroleum requirements from the USSR in future years. Due to increased exploration and exploitation costs petroleum prices will continue to increase within the CEMA. The following directions are being followed to realize the decisions of the Politbureau of the SED Central Committee and the GDR Council of Ministers regarding substitution or the highest possible utilization of petroleum:<sup>1</sup>

--Use of liquid and gaseous energy sources will be reduced through targeted economy measures, rationing, and changes in technological norms.

--Development of greater petroleum processing will continue and conclude, having as its aim the securing of the largest possible amounts of fuels and raw materials for chemistry. For example, these measures will result in the fact that by 1985 the same amount of light products will be produced from 19 million tons of petroleum as from 25 million tons of petroleum in 1980. To be sure, the further refinement of petroleum will result in higher costs of the derived products. In the GDR, for example, gasoline costs three times as much as 1 ton of heating oil, plastics and chemical fibers five times as much.

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1. W. Frohn, "More Fuels and Chemical Raw Materials From Oil and Coal," WISSENSCHAFT UND FORTSCHRITT, No 10, 1982 pp 374-375.

--Gases derived from coal will become substitutes for petroleum-based heating gas, synthetic gas, and hydrogen.

--Heating oil components will be primarily substituted by solid fuels.

--Coal gasification and liquification will expand the production of fuels and chemicals. But up to 1990 no more than 10 percent of the energy needs can be met by coal-derived fuel. Only after 1990 there will be a true beginning of coal refinement and carbochemistry.

--Use of methanol in a methanol-gasoline mixture will be a long-term project to improve the liquid fuel balance.

--There will be a partial substitution of naturally renewable or inorganic raw materials for basic materials derived from petroleum and coal.

There are no other apparent long-term alternatives for securing GDR needs in liquid energy resources. The only significant alternative lies in the increased use of nuclear energy. This, however, is to be expected only long after 2000. This would provide a solution to the unavoidable long-term task of divorcing energy and raw materials, and, on the other hand, it could provide possibilities for use of hydrogen as an energy source for machinery.

Due to the energy and raw materials situation of the GDR especially stringent measures are to be devised regarding the effective and economical use of gasoline and diesel fuels, jet and aviation fuels, lubrication oils and greases, as well as special fluids.

## 2. Effective and Economical Use of Fuels and Lubricants

Based on this situation the Minister for National Defense issued directive Nr. 1/82 regarding measures of effective and economical use of fuels and lubricants. Its main concern is that the necessary increase in combat power and combat readiness of the NVA and the GDR Border Troops be secured within the allotted amounts of fuels and lubricants. This means that increased combat, training and security missions must be met with reduced fuel allocations. Under these conditions the most effective fuel use and the most rational use of military technology acquires an even greater objective importance than previously.

Today, almost 2 years after the issue of the directive, problems of effective fuel and lubricant use have without exception become part and parcel of leadership and management activities of chiefs, commanders, and managers at all levels of command.

It has been especially within the framework of socialist competition that such proven mass initiatives as "I drive the most economical kilometer or the most economical nautical mile," "Truck or tank, armored personnel carrier, airplane or station of distinguished quality," "Exemplary military driver," etc., have been equipped with new criteria and modified to reflect higher requirements. Results that can be obtained are illustrated by the following examples:

In a unit of the air force/air defense military and civilian drivers have assumed 1,665 obligations within the "I drive the most economic kilometer" movement, aimed especially at a reduction of specific fuel usage. (Diagram 1). Within that unit 1 million kilometers less were driven in 1982 than in 1981, while all tasks were fully met.

A regiment in the Neubrandenburg military district used 28,000 liters of diesel fuel less than previously by substituting emergency electrical devices for the presecribed gas-turbines.

In a brigade in the Leipzig military district equipment being prepared for a new utilization period is moved from the garages without starting the engines. Per preparation period about 10,000 liters of gasoline gasoline can be saved.

The use of generators was considerably reduced by increased consumption of electrical energy from the stationary net. For example, this measure saved 4,000 liters gasoline in the Neubrandenburg military district, 7,100 liters gasoline in an NCO Academy, and 40 percent of the usual diesel fuel consumption within the signal troops of the air force/air defense.

These are only some of the many actions with which our armed forces members and civilian employees have succeeded in saving not inconsiderable amounts of gasoline and diesel fuel in 1982, in spite of reduced initial allocations.

The positive results obtained in this area over the years by the NVA and the GDR Border Troops formed the logical basis for the evaluation made in the Politbureau report to the Fourth Plenum of the SED Central Committee. It could be reported that the will not to burden the national economy of our country not more than absolutely necessary is increasingly determining the thinking and action of military personnel and civilian employees, and that broad mass initiatives to save, for example, fuels and lubricants, have come into being.

The results obtained were of extraordinary importance from the military-economic point of view. It is precisely for this reason, as well as in the sense of the programmatic explanations of the Secretary General of our party to the first secretaries of the Kreis management, that the question arises whether the results obtained in 1982 in fuel and lubricant use represent the optimal results.

The answer is negative. An objective analysis of all facts and possibilities leads to the conclusion that the upper limit of the effective and economical use of fuels and lubricants has not yet been reached, especially in troop units. To be sure, it will become more difficult and complicated; objective and subjective possibilities will become fewer. Inspections, consultation, and discussions, however, have unanimously shown that a series of possibilities exist for an even more rational use of military equipment and for more effective and economical use of fuels and lubricants. I would like to cite just a few examples.

It is known that there are great possibilities for reducing fuel and lubricant use already in the planning and preparatory organization as well as the execution of combat and training missions. For this reason it is important that every decision on the operative or tactical level be made from the stand-point of both combat effectiveness and economy.

Marshal of the Soviet Union Kurkotkin, deputy defense minister and chief of Rear Services, said in this regard:

"The opinion that success in combat...is the main concern and the expenditure of personnel and resources is of secondary importance is totally fallacious. In modern battle, characterized by great losses in personnel and material, the military cadres have to assure mission accomplishment with small losses in personnel and the least possible material effort."

In the NVA it is also becoming an increasing practice by staff and troop commanders to use the lower expenditure as the decisive factor in evaluating equal training results. This is totally in the spirit of the above quote.

The relationship between economical expenditures and the increase in combat readiness must always be a measure of training effectiveness. For example, a measure of training effectiveness could be the amount of fuel used in action against a certain number of targets, something that has been started in the air force/air defense.

Simulators and training aids acquire particular importance in the training process of truck and tank drivers, pilots, and ship and boat mechanics. This becomes especially obvious, considering that, for example, the introduction of training tanks in the training facilities of the ground forces could, for example, result in savings of 150,000 liters of diesel fuel. Further, use of training devices in the mechanized infantry and tank regiments should result in a 30 percent reduction in driving hours necessary for battle drills and exercises.

A further field includes the rational use of machinery. The focus must lie on trucks, since they do consume some 90 percent of gasoline and 65 percent of diesel fuel in garrison conditions. Particular important must thus be paid to the effective and economic use of fuel and lubricants in this branch of equipment. This has been realized by staffs and troop units. This is evidenced by the many positive examples and results obtained during inspections. (Diagram 2).

Increased efforts were made to improve the coordination between truck use and transport efficiency. Through the formation of nondivisional transportation groups and dispatcher posts for the coordination of truck use in troop units and garrisons improved prerequisites for maximum use of transportation facilities will be met.

For example, use of nondivisional transportation groups in the units of the Neubrandenburg military district and the 8th flotilla of the People's Navy resulted in fuel savings of up to 15 percent.

The coordination of trucks, engineering and construction machines in an engineer construction battalion must also be mentioned. In 1982 its construction production increased by 37 percent, while fuel use declined by 9 percent.

A telling indication for rational truck use is the number of kilometers obtained per ton of fuel. While in 1979 1 ton of gasoline resulted in 5,225 kilometers within the NVA and the GDR Border Troops, in 1981 this figure was already 5,513 kilometers, i.e., an increase of some 300 kilometers per ton of gasoline. Within the framework of total fuel use in the NVA this means that in 1981 several million more kilometers more were driven than in 1979 for the same amount of fuel.

A further problem that has only recently received increased attention, concerns to total use of lubricating oil. An analysis in 1981 of the average kilometer distance between oil changes, as well as inspection of oil change documentation showed that percentage-wise the periods between oil changes were unsatisfactory. In addition, documentation in log documents was often incomplete and provided little information about oil changes. Subsequent measure undertaken to provide regular oil changes should guarantee that oil changes will be made correctly in the future. Organization and inspection are the responsibility of the fuel-using branches and services, while T/S inspections must be improved.

A conscientious evaluation of use as compared to fuel consumption can have an important influence on the effective and economical usage of fuel and lubricants. The requirement that this be done by the fuel-consuming branches and services with full awareness of their responsibilities during their daily or monthly evaluation of usage has been fixed in directive Nr 1/82 of the Minister of National Defense. The current practice whereby the pump attendant estimates the under- or over-consumption cannot relieve the users from their responsibility. The branches and services should aim to perform these meaningful analyses on their own in simplified and less labor-intensive form. The EDV projects already in testing stage should be included in this effort in a meaningful way.

The analysis of certain data cannot be underestimated in the evaluation of military-economic activities and in making comparisons between units and formations. In the past there were great variances in the use of these data; often they were unusable in comparison. For this reason it is considered necessary to gather the following economic data in a uniform manner within a report to be created, and to analyze them periodically:

- Fuel allocations to the services and branches, their uses and changes,
- The specific addition factor for trucks,
- Average fuel use of the most important tank models,
- Mileage per ton of fuel,

--Recycling for use as secondary raw material, subdivided into sludge oil and glysantine-water mixture,

--Average mileage between oil changes,

--Annual use of the most important categories of fuels, lubricants, and special fluids.

These data and the analyses made from them will provide both comparable results and new realizations about effective fuel and lubricant use.

In view of differing views and explanations it is necessary to state what economy in fuel use actually means. The following definition should be applied in the future:

"Fuel savings means the non-use or return of fuels to the allocated amount of fuel issued for fuel-consuming machinery through an underbidding of fixed usage norms or approved usage limits, while fully meeting the prescribed combat, training, and security missions."

However, the above-mentioned inspections and consultations also made it clear that the T/S service has more and more exhausted its opportunities as a prescribing organization. The greatest opportunities to influence consumption rest with the commanders responsible for machinery use, with the applicable users and drivers, the crews and maintenance personnel. The finding of the first central military-economic conference of the T/S service that the decisive role in the economical use or the most effective use of fuels and lubricants is also played by the degree of conscientiousness, the correct evaluation and the correct attitude of our personnel. It must be our main effort to obtain this realization and attitude with the aid of the party, FDJ and trade union organizations in the military collectives.

### 3. Final Remarks

The struggle for effective and economical fuel and lubricant use within the NVA and the GDR Border Troops should be carried out in the following important directions:

--Realistic planning as well as comprehensive organization in the preparation and execution of combat and training missions, designed to achieve desired results with a high degree of military-economic effectiveness. More than before the economic expenditures in relation to increased combat power and combat readiness must be analyzed and considered. Greater consideration should be given use of simulators and training aids in the basic, advanced, and continuing training of military personnel.

--Rational machine use, i.e., comprehensive training formation, linkage of training elements, use of economical driving habits and further use of machinery with lower fuel consumption where equal effects can be obtained.

--High standards of care and maintenance of machinery, obtained primarily through purposeful and well-planned diagnosis. Of particular importance is the training of drivers, crews, and maintenance personnel, and their qualification to make high quality use of modern machinery, to use it effectively and economically, and keep it in immaculate technical order.

--Consistent coordination and optimal use of security and supply missions beyond the borders of units and garrisons. Results obtained by a research group of the Friedrich Engels Military Academy should form an important basis for improvements in this field. Increasingly the combination of training missions with security or supply tasks should be examined and applied systematically with a view toward opening unused reserves.

--Forms and methods of analysis of machine use and fuel consumption should be perfected and improvements must be made in the maintenance of machinery use documentation by fuel-consuming branches and services.

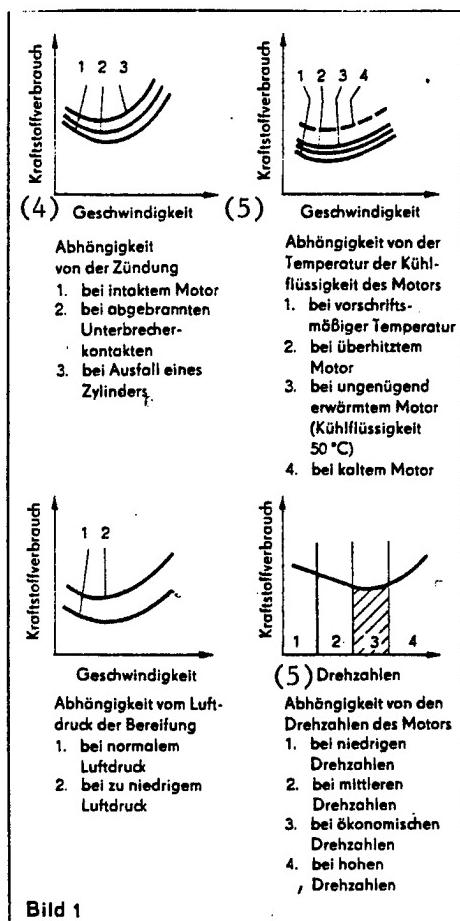
--Periodical updating of usage norms for fuels and lubricants, as well as constant influencing of fuel consumption reduction, to include application of appropriate forms of financial stimulation.

--An orderly planning and timely performance of oil changes by all fuel-consuming branches and services; this is an important contribution toward increased effectiveness and economy.

--Reduction to a minimum in the losses in fuels and lubricants that occur during transportation, in storage, and in transfer.

The full implementation of military regulations and of existing legislative acts is an important prerequisite for this.

Figure 1. Effect Technical Condition of Engines and Usage on Fuel Consumption



Key:

(Upper left): Influence of Ignition

1. Engine intact
2. Points burned
3. One cylinder fails
4. Speed

(Upper right): Influence of Engine

- Coolant Temperature
1. Prescribed temperature
  2. Overheated engine
  3. Insufficiently warmed engine (coolant at 50 degrees Centigrade)
  4. Cold engine

(Lower left): Influence of tire pressure

1. Normal air pressure
2. Air pressure too low

(Lower right): Influence of engine revolutions

1. Revolutions low
2. Medium revolutions
3. Economic revolutions
4. High revolutions
5. Revolutions

**Figure 2. Development of Average Fuel Consumption in Liters/100 km in Leipzig Military District**

A Reduction of the Average Fuel Consumption in Type URAL 375 by 6.1 liters/100 km The Military District of Leipzig Consumed in 1982 544,000 liters less Gasoline Than in 1977 for the Same Number of Kilometers

Typ	(1)			(2) Senkung bzw. Erhöhung
	1977	1980	1982	
UAZ 469	22,4	22,2	21,6	— 0,8
LO-Typen	37,7	36,5	36,4	— 1,3
URAL 375	88,2	83,0	82,1	— 6,1
ZIL 131	73,3	71,3	70,5	— 2,8
W 50 LA/A	27,5	27,7	28,4	+ 0,9
TATRA 148	62,5	62,3	61,6	— 0,9
KRAZ 255	76,6	75,4	74,4	— 2,2

Bild 2

**Key:**

1. Type
2. Decrease or Increase

9240  
CSO: 2300/246

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

YOUNG REFUGEE DISSIDENT'S EXPERIENCES TOLD, AUTOBIOGRAPHY REVIEWED

Biographical Sketch

Hamburg DIE ZEIT in German 9 Dec 83 pp 53-54

[Article by Klaus Pokatzky: "Homeless in Two Germanys: a Portrait of Karl Winkler, the Lyricist Expelled from the GDR"]

[Text] A picture from STERN: A couple of policemen have grabbed a boy with long hair by the arms and are dragging him along. They have just cleared an occupied building in Berlin, and the boy is exercising what we are going to read and hear about a great deal in the months to come: civil disobedience, non-violent resistance.

Unwilling to let himself be led away, he has them drag him across the pavement. "Berlin police officers in the process of removing a squatter in Charlottenburg" is the legend next to the photo of the boy with long hair, who was kicked in the kidneys by a policeman on the stairway with such force that they will hurt for days.

But there was no press photographer inside, and for the boy with the pain in his kidneys this is not the first time that he had physical contact with German police officers--and, judging by the political situation, it was not the last time either.

Contrary to what STERN says, he is no squatter; he is only a sympathizer, one who rents a small one-room apartment in Kruezberg. By taking a few steps out of the building and stepping on a hill near the Wall, he can almost look into his mother's apartment, for she also lives right at the Wall--only on the other side.

When the KPD was banned in the Federal Republic in 1956 and communists were persecuted under Adenauer, his parents emigrated to the GDR. By the time Karl Winkler, born in Berlin, capital of the GDR, in 1960, was 21 years old, he had served 13 months in Eastern prisons. Ransomed by the Federal Government, he emigrated in the other direction.

The one time when he telephoned his mother, an ADN editor, from the West, she told him: "You could have lived here in socialism as a decent citizen instead

of betraying socialism and selling out to the West for better or worse.... To think that my own son has to disappoint me so!" When he looked across the Wall from the West the first time, he cried.

Actually he would much rather have stayed on the other side. "To go away really is no solution," he said to himself time and again while still in prison, recalling Wolf Biermann's lyrics, "Those who quit the East quit their own selves at our expense." Only after the State Security Service had described to him in prison what his life would be like afterwards did he decide to apply for permission to leave the country. The lyricist Karl Winkler did not want to be banned permanently from making public appearances any more than he wanted to be exiled to some small village or other, to be subject to "Arbeitsplatzbindung" [being frozen in a job] and regularly to have to report to the police. So, with a bad conscience toward his friends in East Berlin, he preferred the West. And just as he previously could not cross the Wall from East to West, so he cannot now go from West to East any longer, for the state is very much afraid of his songs.

So he now performs with the Greens and at all kinds of Alternative festivities, sometimes also together with Wolf Biermann and Bettina Wagner, who exercised a great influence on him while he was still in the GDR. There too he likes to kick against the pricks. One time when he performed together with Biermann at a peace festival in Kreuzberg before 3,000 people, he first welcomed "all women of peace" (big applause), then all "men of peace" (once more big applause) and finally "all children of peace." At that point the applause was still considerable, but it then decreased noticeably when he proceeded to welcome all peace researchers, friends of peace, peace writers, peace champions and peace crusaders. And when he then, with something of a contemptuous gesture, threw away the note from which he had read it all, there was very little applause and a great deal of embarrassed silence.

Karl Winkler's relationship toward the peace movement in his new homeland is problematical. Of course he is closer to it than to those who advocate the stationing of missiles. But he "cannot stand" any longer "hearing the word peace all the time," if only because in the case of many people he does not know "whether they actually know what they are talking about." He cannot understand why many leftists turn a blind eye to Afghanistan, are unconcerned about Solidarity and practice so little real solidarity with the peace movement in the GDR. Not only does he demand the passing of resolutions and other support for imprisoned GDR peace fighters but, above all, "that they should go more often to the GDR, and also put up with the chicanery at the border controls in order to talk with the people on the other side and instill courage into them." Karl Winkler has not forgotten how much it meant to him and how much good it did him when in former times after a performance at a blues mass in East Berlin visitors from West Berlin came and just shook his hand.

And now that he is himself in the West, he suddenly encounters among so many people that "uncanny arrogance toward the GDR, a disinterest in what is happening over there--primarily because the leftists leave the field to Springer and Strauss and the other rightists." And among many a leftist he also simply presumes the existence of envy: "Over there we had to gather together and

fight under quite different pressure; here it is so simple and such a matter of course for many people to belong to the peace movement."

He finds personal relationships here "much more superficial": cool is modern. And because he has also not forgotten what it means to be in jail in the East, he sits down at his small permanently untidy desk, and drafts a press statement about his imprisoned Czechoslovak friend Petr Uhl, who has been in jail since 1979 because he supported the cause of political prisoners in the CSSR in the "Committee of the Unjustly Persecuted." He then makes copies of his statement at the least expensive place and sends it to 50 journalists and peace groups. And as for addressees in Berlin, he delivers some of them himself to save the postage.

In parties too he is bothered by the consumer's attitude of "which woman am I going to pick up today?" This was different when he was in the GDR. There he observed a stronger "internal unity" among his friends; under the external pressure, one developed "much more intensive and closer forms of social behavior with one another."

When he came to the West, the devoted listener to SFB [Radio Free Berlin] and RIAS [Radio in the American Sector] still thought "that the people here were much farther ahead," and now he keeps wondering whether he is not farther ahead after all. He does not like to go to department stores with their overflowing food departments because he is then bound to think of the Poles starving 70 kilometers to the east. And when he hears CDU/CSU politicians talk about the German borders in fact not extending only to the Oder and Neisse, he gets "sick to his stomach": "That they really should get rid of; there can be no reunification in capitalism any more than in Honecker's socialism; perhaps it can happen one day when the systems have been abolished--a reunification from below."

Over there he proudly bore the nickname of "Euro" for a time because of his inclination toward Eurocommunism and even more so because of his affection for Robert Havemann. Here he is fond of describing himself as an "anarchist" and of declaring his opposition "against all power structures, against all parties"--though in the next Berlin election he probably will put his cross next to the Alternative ticket. The five-cornered red-black star which the STASI [State Security Service] already confronted him with during his interrogations, he has brought with him from the other side--as well as the slogan "Stay in the country and defend yourself every day."

That this defending oneself continues, he noticed right away during his first few kilometers in the West--in December 1981 when together with other ransomed GDR prisoners he was driven by chartered bus from STASI imprisonment in Karl-Marx-Stadt to the "emergency reception camp" in Giessen. Before Frankfurt/Main the bus had to stop because of the traffic. "Leftist screwballs are rioting at Runway West again," the FRG bus driver explained to his guests from the GDR. "Such a leftist screwball is sitting behind you," Karl Winkler thought at that time. While he was still in prison he had observed with anguish how a great many of his fellow prisoners uttered the most banal anticommunist or extreme

rightist slogans and had no dearer wish than to strengthen the FRG right wing.

Meanwhile the leftist screwball Karl Winkler has come to know Runway West from personal experience, and in demonstrations in West Berlin he had come to know the police officers there just as well as their uniformed counterparts in East Berlin in the past. The term "fuzz" he had already used over there, no later than on that day in October 1977 when he became an involuntary victim of a street battle on Alexanderplatz between rebellious juveniles and People's Police. Subsequently jailed he had to stand for hours against a wall, his legs spread 1 meter apart, 1 meter from the wall and his hands touching it. Over there they call patrol cars "Minnas," on this side they are called "Wannen" [tubs].

When he carried a balloon with the slogan of the GDR peace movement, "Swords into plowshares" during the allied armed forces parade at Whitsun he was arrested--by West Berlin police--and then heard a conversation between two policemen which still resounds in his ears from his time in the East: "Why did you touch him? He stinks." "Oh, they all stink, don't they?"

A short time ago he was in the audience at a trial over alleged disturbance of the peace. After the proceedings against the presumed builders of barricades and stone throwers had ended for the day, and as Karl Winkler and the rest of the audience wanted to shout a few encouraging words of consolation to the defendants behind their armored glass booths, they were forcibly pushed out of the courtroom. "Here you open your mouths wide, but with the STASI on the other side you would knuckle under," one of the bailiffs snapped at Karl Winkler. He, thinking of endless interrogations, solidarity confinement and STASI threats, responded the way he always does in such situations--and in West Berlin, has fairly frequent occasion to do so: "I know better than you, old man, what goes on over there with the STASI, for I come from there, and they did not want me either."

Sometimes he then hears the helpless answer, "Well, no wonder," but generally he does cause the other person to be embarrassed or to think again." "Over here," he says, "one can at least still talk with the fuzz--at least one can try, and every now and then something comes of it."

#### Prominent Author Reviews Autobiography

Hamburg DIE ZEIT in German 9 Dec 83 p 54

[Review by Rudolf Bahro, expelled GDR author and dissident economist, of book "Made in GDR--Jugendszenen aus Ost-Berlin" [Made in GDR--Scenes of Youth From East Berlin] by Karl Winkler, Oberbaum, Berlin, 1983, 200 pages]

[Text] The East Berlin lyricist Kalle Winkler arrived in Giessen 2 years ago, in November 1981, having been transferred here from jail in Cottbus via Karl-Marx-Stadt. I did not leave then, because following the amnesty--and altogether--they really are not in a position to sell me at that time. Or--and this

is something that did not occur to me before Kalle made me wonder about it--did they in fact think they could afford the risk of my not going to the internal affairs section of the Weissensee Bezirk to put in a request to be "relieved of GDR citizenship" with the efficient female comrade in charge there? For, having been released from jail, I would definitely have been able to remain, contrary to the intention previously announced by DER SPIEGEL. Since the full emergence of the peace movement on the other side, of whose labor pains I knew far less than did Wolf, Biermann or Winkler, I have often been in doubt as to whether my leaving--for which I had the same grounds as the young man, though in a somewhat more complicated way--was the right thing at the time.

I can see already that this is not developing into the proper kind of review for the literary page--for two reasons. The second one I will come back to later. The first one is that the little book might have been about me almost the whole time. In the categories of party experience, theoretical knowledge, historical knowledge and practical work experience, I went to jail with the same ingenuousness as he did. Perhaps I was even more stupid. Only afterward did it occur to me that there might have been something in it for my cell buddy, although none of the friendly advice he gave me ever worked out and [he] became peeved when I did not talk about "upstairs," about the hours of interrogation.

"Upstairs" there sat, though probably not the same man, the same type of interrogator that was also used for Kalle--a friendly type, with the human touch, whose psychological below the belt hits were then all the more telling--like sharp dissonances following a cantabile and amabile. And the man I really enjoyed meeting again in the little book was the attorney, Dr Gregor Gysi.

What the songwriter otherwise reports about his leaving is, as far as I am concerned, not as far as the reader, be he from the East or West, go--almost monotonously the same: one rule in the whole Prussian state. There is hardly anything I can add, particularly since the jailers' behavior in "his" Cottbus and probably everywhere else were rougher than in "my" Bautzen II. He has additional "light" to offer because in the 1977 incident at the East Berlin television tower he was one of those who found themselves in Keibelstrasse. I had to rely on the reports of my interrogator because in my case even NEUES DEUTSCHLAND would have meant too much access to the outside world during the first half year of my detention pending trial. I would still not have believed the normal Western newspaper reports of police brutality. One just never stops learning.

At any rate, I will not have to write down anything in the future about the couple of years in Hohenschoenhausen and Bautzen. As far as that goes, it is really no wonder, for not all that much changes in the GDR in a couple of years. In our case, however--Karl's and mine--the continuity goes deeper. At the time, shortly before I came here, I said I was a GDR product through and through. Here you find that right in the title: "Made in GDR." The young man is even more justified in saying so than I, who was already 10 when the GDR, or rather at first the East Zone, began. He is now 22. In other words, he was born in the middle of the history of the GDR, though his parents had entered that history only 4 years before, as Western communists persecuted on this side.

I am 26 years older. The difference should make it impossible to compare our motives for clashing with state and party. Kalle was never a member of the SED. Nor did he wear an FDJ shirt any more. Yet his book is evidence of the homogeneity of a certain type of socialization--a homogeneity extending over several generations. It comes into being as soon as one prerequisite exists over there--in other words, is imparted (which still happens). I mean original fascination with the communist utopia at one time or another in a youth between 10 and 14. If one has never believed in socialism, one does not want to improve it and does not put the party in the dock to face its own moral facade.

And there is another condition: the proximity, at least in spirit, of a few people of the older generation who, although only occasionally, still represent something of what was understood to be the "ideal."

Thus it was with Kalle Winkler vis-a-vis Robert Havemann and Wolf Biermann. It was also so time and time again between me and old and elder comrades such as Walter, Harry, Rudi, Marianne, Wolfgang and, from a distance, Robert. For later stands, it was always they who assured one of the common provenance: undoubted communists, tested in concentration camps and in emigration. When they adopted a moral tone with one, one was able to confront with far greater assurance the grey mice of the apparatus that had come out of the wrong trench in 1945. Even if these infidels cited the party rules a hundred times, they did not have the strength. I am telling how things were with us, and how they still are with many.

In short, the example of Kalle Winkler does amaze me once more by illustrating just how "party enemies" resemble one another in the GDR to this day. I am putting the term in quotation marks because at the moment of the conflict they invariably still stand with one leg inside the hate-loved temple. Just as he did in Cottbus, I too in Bautzen (if events had not already stamped me as "Bahro") might have got the nickname "Euro"--standing for Eurocommunism, about which I had not all that much fewer illusions at the time than the 19-year-old young man who shared them with Robert. Just as in his case in Cottbus, we in Bautzen II were also only a few dispersed "leftists" who "still had not had enough" and "probably would never learn" amid a host of Strauss fans produced by the STASI assembly line. (All right, there were also a few rather liberal people.)

In Czechoslovakia, by way of comparison, our type has hardly existed any longer since the events of 21 August. (But we must not forget the Trotskyite-inspired Petr Uhl, who is still in jail there and who is mentioned all too rarely!) Even though there some of the young people taken on after the big mopping up may still be going through everything once more, the continuity has been broken. In the GDR there lacks the event which also discredits reform communism (in its failure) and which would have swept up to half of the members--precisely the "unhealthy"--out of the party. Although not a party member, Winkler was one of them. While he had never let himself become a member, he ("Marx forfend!"), and thus really belonged to the small group of those expelled with old Robert.

Nevertheless there is one big difference between my middle generation and his generation. Unlike us, who gradually had to gather things from among spoiled features of the great whole and who invariably still had an excuse (the "enemy pressure" served every purpose and was also blamed for the GULAG), it was faced with socialist parents, particularly when they were functionaries.

The daily small change of treason against the ideal! There is his comrade mother, at one time a member of the KPD here, who writes to him (and who would write this way on this side?) before the appeal proceedings: "Either you make an unequivocal statement that you have learned from your arrest and from the questions covered in the trial, and also act accordingly in the future--or you don't. But then don't say that no one drew your attention, through good advice, to your options."

Such experience from nearby speeds up the break and makes it possible for someone like Karl Winkler from the start to be a step farther ahead than any of my fellow students could possibly be. He finds himself inevitably, as it were, in the new ecological and pacifist youth culture, in the counterculture instead of in a skeptical private circle opposed to the party.

The proper, the professional appreciation, recommendation or review actually can be found in the back of the little book itself: five pages of commentary by Erich Loest which have a beneficial effect on the novice and leave hardly anything to be desired. Nor is there anything there that should be deleted except perhaps--as far as I am concerned--the first and the last sentence. The first quotes someone as saying that "just about anyone can write a first book." The last reverts to this by demanding, "but the second!" I wonder whether it is right to drive Kalle into the next piece of writing, competing with himself, in order to prove not only that he has lasting talent but also, "as we have always known," that new talent will appear in the GDR.

Winkler's book is more than talented. By this I mean is that it does not basically fall into any aesthetic categories, despite the fact that it is also written well and fluently and (a second small difference with Erich Loest, after all), by my probably lower artistic standards, is also definitely a finished product--not perfect but finished nevertheless. Essentially it stands above literature--also while and because no kind of literary excess occurs. What does it mean when the following needs to be noted and documented about--yes--the autobiography of a 21-year-old who with little preparation went through the purgatory of STASI Headquarters--by Erich Loest, the experienced authority on GDR jails?

"The remarkable thing about this man is that he does not indulge in wailing, in the tenor of 'listen to what I went through.' He remains an observer also when he writes about his interrogators and guards. A cool observer? No, but his wrath does not pour any poison into his style. His language is simple in its exactitude: 'He rocked back and forth in front of me in his boots, his right hand on his truncheon. I thought now he is bound to beat me up. "So you refuse to sweep the hall?" he said softly, giving me a threatening look. "We had night shift, and according to the house rules I am entitled to my sleep after a night shift," I replied. "You know that in addition I can put you to work 4 hours during the day," he said. "Yes, but not after a night shift. I

will not sweep." We stared into each other's eyes. I did not conceal my hatred. Why doesn't he strike me, I wondered. He opened the door to the cell. "Go in," he said. After I had entered, I breathed easy.'" Loest continues: "Even jail in the GDR did not sour this man's hope for a humane kind of socialism."

Last year I met him in Brussels at the European conference of the nonaligned peace movement. At Runway West, he was beaten over the head by FRG police clubs. It appears he is incorrigible.

And yet he is gentle, tender and in need of tenderness. In his report he tells the truth about himself, also about when he was weak. So I simply think that it is not so important whether he succeeds with a second look (of course, he should) or whether he in fact writes one (he probably will). He can hardly get lost. He can no longer lose himself, not here in the cold West either, still so full of nostalgia for the other land, which he recently visited, a coup de theatre of which I would not be capable. The result: A priceless report in the TAZ [DIE TAGESZEITUNG] and, in the case of that paper, probably also an unpaid one.

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GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

OFFICIAL CITES WOMEN'S ACHIEVEMENTS, URGES NEW GOALS

East Berlin NEUER WEG in German Vol 39 No 1, Jan 84 (signed to press 29 Dec 83) pp 3-8

/Article by Inge Lange, secretary of the SED Central Committee and Politburo candidate member: "Women's Policies in the 35th Year of our Republic's Existence" /

/Text/ SED CC General Secretary, Comrade Erich Honecker, repeatedly emphasized that women and girls have had a great deal to do with the achievements of our social development. In fact, the equality of women--realized by law and in daily life--is one of the major accomplishments of the GDR and of enormous importance in the present difficult international situation and the greater challenges arising therefrom with a view to the all-round strengthening of our republic and the preservation of peace.

The Tenth SED Congress confronted the leaders of our party, labor unions and women's organization as well as state and economy managing organs with the task "to properly utilize those social and individual values that were created by the fact of equality, so as to give even greater effect to women's willingness to serve the further organization of the developed socialist society."

To better appreciate the reasoned intent of this target, let us briefly recall the accomplishments of our party's policy for women since its eighth congress.

Beginning with its general concern for the better satisfaction of the material and cultural needs of the working people, the Eighth SED Congress set the task with respect to women "now to tackle those problems that must be settled, because a woman's ability to fully use her equal rights depends on such a settlement."

A huge and unprecedented sociopolitical program was realized step by step. Above all this brought about a better conformity between the professional development of women and their social functions as mothers.

At the present time more than 4.7 million women and girls are gainfully employed, training or studying. That amounts to half a million more than in 1970, although the female population of working age has since risen by only just 250,000. The extent of employment of women has thus risen to 89 percent. Lenin once said that we could consider as achieved that which "has become established in our culture, our daily lives, our habits." Precisely that applies--both quantitatively and qualitatively--to the professional life of women in our country.

This is very clearly demonstrated in the standard of professional qualification achieved. At this time women provide 50 percent of all skilled workers, 11 percent of forepersons, 60 percent of technical school and 36 percent of university cadres. The figures for female production workers having completed skilled worker training more than doubled since 1970, from 28.3 percent to 58.4 percent. In farming, 87.7 percent of women have graduated occupational training, 79.2 percent skilled worker training.

The rapidly rising skills of women also benefit their share of responsible functions. At the present time one third of all managerial offices are exercised by women. In the cultural-social spheres, including popular education and health care, the proportion is as high as 56.6 percent, in commerce, light industry, the service industries, posts and telecommunications around 50 percent. Furthermore, women now account for 38.4 percent of all deputies, 28 percent of mayors, 32 percent of school principals and 54 percent of judges.

It is abundantly evident that these fundamental changes in women's social status are due entirely to the extensive sociopolitical measures initiated by our party. One of the main factors was the enormous development of the capacity and networks of preschool facilities. By the end of 1983 almost twice as many children than in 1970 could be accommodated in creches, with the result that now 657 of each 1,000 children in the respective age groups are accepted. In the same period of time the places available in kindergartens have more than doubled. At this point our republic is the only country where all children whose parents so wish, can be accommodated, cared for and prepared for school entrance. The same applies to the development of full-day schools for students in grades 1-4.

The most alive witnesses--in the truest meaning of that term--to the wisdom of the approach taken by the Eighth SED Congress are the children who were born since the birth rate began to rise again after 1975. To illustrate the significance of this factor, let me remind you that our republic achieved its highest birth rate in 1963--301,400 children. From that time on it declined year by year--although the law on the woman's right to abortion was not enacted until 1972--and, in 1974, reached its nadir at only 179,127 births. Not even the simple reproduction of the population was guaranteed any longer. In 1977, on the other hand, more than 223,000 children were born, and 230,000 births are expected in 1983.

Mindful of August Bebel's dictum that, instead of endlessly encouraged sentimental and emotional lives, women need "a solid slice of acute reasoning and the ability to think in exact terms..., knowledge of the world and humanity..," our party has always taken care to involve women in political life. This is demonstrated in women's conscious and active commitment to the all-round strengthening of the republic, the socialist competition and the innovator movement, the initiative for improving the capacity of our economy, and the energy that women contribute to the preservation of peace and anti-imperialist solidarity.

It is also the great merit of our party in the work with women generally always to link fundamental issues with daily life. This has helped it in particular to win the hearts and minds of women, enabling the great majority of them to arrive at class-like decisions and unhesitatingly lend a hand with the aim of realizing our

sound policies. Our party's power of attraction for women is demonstrated by their 34.4 percent share in the membership and candidate membership of the SED. This figure translates into 762,000 women.

A total of 4.7 million women are FDGB members. Not only do they account for 52.2 percent of the membership as a whole, every second labor union office is held by a woman; 1.4 million are DFD /Democratic Women's League of Germany/ members, 73.7 percent of whom are not affiliated to any party.

These outstanding results reflect the fact that, in the 35 years of the GDR's existence, socialism on German soil opened up an entirely new world to women, and that the women themselves have turned into quite different people in the course of a development--stormy and brief in terms of history. They are squarely rooted in life, good mothers and partisans of socialism.

Anyone reflecting on this development is bound to understand why the Tenth SED Congress stated that today's women and girls contribute far more than merely hard work and skillful hands to the social progress of our country. And why it is therefore important to devote even greater attention to the satisfactory utilization of all the social and individual values thus created.

What are the main issues consonant with this orientation, when party organizations, state managers and the comrades in the mass organizations decide on their contribution to the further implementation of the party's women's policy?

In view of the advanced standard of professional education, it is imperative for women also to be deployed with the greatest possible emphasis on qualifications so as to achieve a greater economic profit. Wherever that is not the case, we find little inclination for acquiring the appropriate training within the scope of adult education or attending job-related further education courses.

A greater effort should also be made to better utilize and encourage the educational standard achieved by greater emphasis on the recruitment of women for collaboration in research collectives and study groups. Examples are the preparation of the production of new consumer goods, the introduction of modern equipment or, the reduction of materials and energy consumption.

There is abundant confirmation of the fact that women who feel themselves challenged, who are able to apply their knowledge, are quite prepared to acquire the advanced knowledge required in our day due to the advance of modern technology. In the past 2 years, for example, women accounted for some 40 percent of the skilled workers who attended special courses to study the theoretical foundations of microelectronics.

The rising number of women managers provides a rather clear yardstick to whether and how their employment is appropriate to their qualifications. Here we see that qualifications are by no means always to be equated with the respective job. There is evidence of the fact that the percentage of women among students of nearly all scientific disciplines has for quite some time been greater than among managers in the respective sectors of the economy. Another prerequisite for improving the situation with employment of qualified women in managerial and other jobs is

obviously all that has been and is being done for the greater compatibility of professional work and maternity. After all, many of the goals of our sociopolitical measures were and are directed to allowing women to be able better to develop professionally, to need less time and energy for carrying out their duties as housewives and mothers.

In his address to the first secretaries of kreis leadership organizations, Comrade Erich Honecker therefore correctly emphasized in 1983 that the time had definitely come to conduct women even more consciously and resolutely to new and responsible assignments, to give them credit for greater capability than has been done in the past. The proper conditions for so doing are now present from every aspect.

There is one final prerequisite: Much has changed in the course of recent years to give women more self-confidence. We may generally claim that women are quite aware of their knowledge and ability. If some women even low lack the courage to accept greater responsibilities, the causes should not be sought among them.

We are bound to note the persistence--rather stubborn at that--of allegations that many women are unwilling to accept managerial functions, or that managerial assignments might be at risk because, in contrast to men, women are likely to absent themselves whenever their children are sick. On the one hand this superficial argument regarding actual family concerns leads many women eventually to believe that it does not yet make sense to expect more of themselves. On the other hand, no efforts are made on the management side to take the proper steps--planned and systematic--that would ultimately result in successful employment.

Another key issue is that of special attention for mothers with preschool children and engaged on shift work. In view of the fact that about one third of shift workers in industry are women, and that as many as every second production workers below the age of 25 work shifts, we must realize that young women prefer not to do shift work after the birth of a child. This also applies to sectors outside material production. It is explained by the wish to have more time to look after the children, by the husband disliking shift work for his wife or being unable to help adequately in the care of children and other family tasks.

The comrades should therefore do more to ensure that useful and flexible provisions arrived at in all enterprises where this is shown to be necessary, so as to meet the concerns of women. Let us look at some examples:

In a branch works of the Friedrich Ebert Electrical Apparatus Plant in Schwedt, more than 100 women work alternately early and night shifts, never the graveyard shift because that one is hardest on women. The Leuna Combine and other enterprises operate a so-called mother's shift: Women work shifts from Monday through Friday but not weekends. In the Berlin Heating Device and Fixtures Plant VEB it has been found useful for young mothers to remain with their collective but work only day shifts; they must be willing, though, to operate any machine where they may be needed. And, finally, 70 women in the Carl von Ossietzky Device and Regulator Works VEB in Teltow worked shifts for a trial period of 4 months. At the end of that time they were all willing to continue with shift work.

If we want to maintain the proportion of female shift workers or even recruit more women for shift work while fully observing the sociopolitical measures and the labor code, we will have to give far more consideration to possible solutions appropriate for, especially, mothers of young children. In any case we must make an effort to make sure that women who quit shift work temporarily to care for their infants, remain with the enterprise and later return to shifts.

Moreover, the party organizations and, especially managers, should be clearly instructed that the need for shift utilization of highly productive equipment must not be used to counter the women workers' legitimate efforts to meet their maternal obligations and even less to discourage girls and women from holding certain jobs only because they might not be able to handle shift work for a few years. A final but no less important key issue with regard to women's work is the exploitation of all opportunities of caring for mothers and children, promoting marriage and the family and, thereby, encourage the birth of healthy and numerous children.

Though much progress has already been recorded with regard to the birth rate, the simple reproduction of our population is still not secure. To achieve this goal, at least 210 children would have to be born to every 100 women in the course of their child bearing life (15-45); up to now the figure is only 185. In other words: Simple reproduction requires more third and subsequent children. The wish for two and three children should therefore be increasingly made the focus of efforts feasible and necessary as per regional givens, in order to encourage more births.

In this respect the availability of living space adequate to the size of the family must receive priority. In addition we must guarantee the best possible quality of the work of all institutions responsible for the welfare of mother and child, including the gradual expansion of the network of creches and kindergardens as well as their better utilization. Here also it is imperative more fully to use the facilities available.

In many places the state organs have succeeded in doing this with the active support of our party's women's committees. In 1982 alone, 43,700 more children could thus be admitted to creches than appeared possible initially. As the divergence in average occupancy of 85.1 percent in Berlin and 82.2 percent in Karl-Marx-Stadt shows, considerable reserves still remain to be developed.

Another most important aspect of the stimulation of the birth rate is evidently represented by sound marriages and families. Whether they are in fact sound depends primarily on the spouses themselves. Nevertheless, politico-ideological influence on the evolution of the new socialist lifestyle should include and promote everything connected with love, marriage and the family. As in other areas of politico-ideological work, it goes without saying that these efforts must be based on our party program that includes very definite statements in this respect. It says, for example, "that marriage and family relations in socialism are based on love and mutual respect, understanding and mutual help in everyday life and common responsibility for the children."

That is the criterion, and--as practicaly life demonstrates--several children can as a rule be expected only as the product of marriages ruled by this spirit, while

fully maintaining the woman's right to abortion. Such children are experienced as providing the meaning and happiness of the family. In other words: Socialism has a positive attitude to marriage and the family, it encourages and approves it, because the family is an irreplaceable community in everything affecting the education and training of the growing generation.

By continuing the main task in its unity of economic and social policy, our party will actively endeavor to perfect all those material and ideological conditions allowing working mothers, in particular, to make a respectable contribution to society as a whole, to the strengthening of socialism and peace.

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GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

## EFFECTS OF MICROWAVE EXPOSURE INVESTIGATED

East Berlin ZEITSCHRIFT FUER MILITAERMIDIZIN in German Vol 24 No 6, 1983 (signed to press 25 Jul 83) pp 290-291

[Article by Lt Col Dr H.-U. Schultze, MD: "Clinical Aspects of Microwave Exposure"]

### [Text] Summary

Some aspects of microwave exposure are presented. The most important physical properties and biological effects are specified. On the basis of literature references, there exists a critical distinction between acute and chronic disease.

### Introduction

Our life, changed as it is by technical progress, is no longer conceivable without high-frequency electromagnetic radiation. Microwaves are used by radio, television, and radar transmitters, in diathermy, in households, and in industry. Furthermore, microwaves are used in science, medicine, and defense. For military purposes, microwaves are used, among other things, in radar and surveying as well as in multi-channel radio traffic.

### What are Microwaves?

Electromagnetic vibrations with a frequency between 100 MHz and 100 GHz, that is wave lengths between 3 m and 0.3 mm, are called microwaves. In the military area, microwaves in the electromagnetic spectrum are used primarily between the wave lengths 0.1 mm to 1 mm. The radio wave region begins above 1 m. Microwaves belong among the non-ionizing radiations.

### Properties of Microwaves

Among the properties of microwaves, the reflection and absorption of energy are important. Depending on the frequency, 20 to 80 per cent of the incident radiation is reflected at the body surface; the remaining portion is absorbed. The absorbed energy is transferred to the tissue molecules, and kinetic energy and appears as a heating of the tissue. The extent of absorption of a given radiation power and thus the degree of heating depends on the type of tissue and on the frequency of the radiation. The lower the absorption factor, the greater is the penetration depth.

This thermal effect of microwaves results from the vibrations of ions and the water molecules; here, energy is converted into heat. The pupil and the testes react most sensitively to microwaves. A hazard for the total organism exists when this organism is no longer capable of dissipating the resultant heat fast enough. This can cause a dangerous heating of tissue layers and a rise of body temperature.

The thermal effect of microwaves led to setting up the biological tolerance limits for total body radiation by microwaves in the amount of  $10 \text{ mW/cm}^2$  (1) average radiation density. This standard was established in 1953, taking into account organ-specificity and a considerable margin. Besides the thermal effect, there are other effects of microwaves which can be summarized as non-thermal effects. The non-thermal effects occur when the electromagnetic field causes a change in the molecules of cells which is not mediated by heating. Thus, proteins, corresponding to their polarity, can align themselves in the electric field. It is suspected that polarized side chains of macro-molecules can also align themselves in an electric field and can thus cause a dissolution of hydrogen bridges. However, these effects are only expected at radiation densities which lie by many factors above the biological tolerance limit. Consequently, they are not expected with thermally ineffective radiation densities below  $10 \text{ mW/cm}^2$ .

### Biological Effects of Microwaves

In a cell, the action of electromagnetic energy becomes apparent by the electric and magnetic fields, which are periodic in time and space, acting on the electric charge carriers and on the dipoles of the cell. This involves the action of a force on a molecular level, which causes the motion of ions and a partial rotation of polar molecules. Because of friction losses, heat is generated. The heat generated in the absorption of microwaves largely determines their biological and medical effect. To evaluate a possible risk for humans one must consider not only action mechanisms on the molecular level but also phenomena on the macroscopic level. This involves the total energy absorbed by the human person as well as the penetration of the radiation and the distribution of heat sources in the body.

The thresholds for observed damage lie above  $100 \text{ mW/cm}^2$  for partial body exposure. The critical organ is the eye, where cataracts can be caused to form. The threshold for indirect risks to human persons is lower, however. Thus, microwaves are capable of disturbing cardiac pacemakers. Larger implanted objects of metal, for example clamps, nails, and internal electrodes, can act as receiving antennas and can cause local heating.

With a whole-body exposure to microwaves, the starting point must be that a surface power density of  $10$  to  $20 \text{ mW/cm}^2$  will cause the temperature of the organism to rise by about  $1^\circ \text{ C}$ , without the mechanisms of body temperature regulation. For a maximum permissible surface power density with continuous exposure of human persons, the limit value of  $10 \text{ mW/cm}^2$  is generally valid. Despite detailed information during recent years, these limits have proven themselves valid until the present time. They were formulated on the basis of considerations concerning thermal stress on human subjects.

## Acute Damage from Microwaves

After microwave exposure, one can observe not only negative symptoms, tachypnoea, tachycardia, slight elevation of blood pressure, but also hypotonia, increased salivation, and global hyperthermia. These symptoms were occasionally observed in man after microwave exposure, especially after accidents.

According to Kolesnik (3), acute damage from microwaves is subdivided into three degrees of severity.

The degree of severity I is expected within a surface power density of about  $10 \text{ mW/cm}^2$ . It is generally associated with acute crises of the cardiac-circulatory system and with disturbances of thermal regulation. After being shielded, the affected subjects are soon free of these symptoms.

Degree of severity II is observed with a dose of  $10-20 \text{ mW/cm}^2$ . Depending on the affected body region, various syndromes appear, such as headaches in the case of irradiation of the head, where cardiac rhythm disturbances, blood pressure anomalies, hyperthermia, and sometimes also paresthesias are simultaneously also often observed. When the neck region is irradiated, cerebellar symptoms are expected such as disturbances of the gait, of equilibrium, and dizzy spells. Exposure of the abdomen causes gastro-intestinal disturbances, sometimes intestinal bleeding and occasionally even ulcerous modifications of the mucous membrane.

The degree of severity III is supposed to occur with doses above  $25 \text{ mW/cm}^2$ . Here, the clinical picture of a heat stroke is observed. Quite generally, the clinical aspect of microwave effects is determined by the irradiated body region.

The diagnosis of acute microwave injury can be made from proof of exposure, from dosimetry, and from the specified symptoms. In terms of differential diagnostics, one must exclude many forms of vegetative dystonia, circulatory diseases, poisonings, and skull traumas. By necessity, the treatment is symptomatic.

## Chronic Injury from Microwaves

Chronic injury exists when microwaves act for many years above the allowable power density. Here, predominantly functional disturbances and sometimes organic changes develop in the human organism. The syndrome of chronic injury is manifold. Most frequently it resembles the symptomatic complex of a vegetative dystonia.

The diagnosis and differential diagnosis for chronic damage are likewise oriented in accord with the professional history and the results of dosimetry.

According to the literature, chronic damage from microwaves is expected more frequently than acute damage (3). Here, three degrees of severity are distinguished in the literature (2).

With degree of severity I, there are only slight symptoms: fatigue, weakness, lassitude, disturbed blood pressure.

With degree of severity II, the symptoms are somewhat more conspicuous: hypotonia, sleepiness, possible disturbances in potency, and occasional EKG changes.

With degree of severity III, trophic disturbances are also observed.

The following organ-related symptoms can occur with a chronic effect of microwaves:

- At the nervous system--headaches, sleep disturbances, fatigue, weak memory, a drop in performance, flickering before the eyes, unrest, anxiety, tremors of the finger, hyperhidrosis, acrocyanosis, EEG changes, subfebrile temperatures, and vegetative syncopes;
- At the cardiac-circulatory system--dyscordias, bradycardiac tendencies, reduction of blood pressure, extrasystole and PQ-, QRS- and T-changes in the EKG;
- At the gastro-intestinal tract--pains, heartburn, possible ulcers;
- At the endocrine system: struma, reduction of body weight, disturbances of potency;
- At the eye--conjunctival irritation, visual fatigue, chemosis, cataract;
- At the blood--initial leukocytosis, later also lymphopenia, leukopenia, and thrombocytopenia.

The therapeutic measures are generally of a supportive type and symptomatic in nature.

#### Prophylaxis against Damage from Microwaves

By adhering to the appropriate specifications in military regulations and work-protection ordinances as well as by constantly guaranteeing individual protective measures, permanent damage following microwave exposure is not to be expected.

In measurement technology, a dosimetric measurement of the microwaves up to a radius of 3 km is possible. Modern devices even permit a separate measurement of the electric and magnetic component of the microwaves, so that local dosimetric data are always possible.

A microwave exposure is documented within the framework of the basic annual examination.

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HUNGARY

FILM ADDRESSING PERSISTING MINORITY ISSUES REVIEWED

Budapest UJ EMBER in Hungarian 25 Dec 83 p 2

[Review by Bela Beller: "Coexistence"]

[Text] The distant observer of our domestic national minorities question sees only the reflection of a calm pond. To notice the minute shudderings and the rippling of currents breaking toward the surface he must look closer. This has been accomplished for all of us in connection with the German question in a film called "Coexistence." The Hungaro-West German co-produced docudrama is by Livia Gyarmathy and is based on a screenplay by Geza Boszormenyi.

The Plot

The film opens with a rosy idyllic view of village life. Two nice, attractive and sensible young people from neighboring villages meet at a soccer match and fall in love. That this healthy and beautiful relationship will lead to marriage is predictable, but the number of misunderstandings, the suspicion, prejudice and evil conditioning that the young people have to magically overcome with mythic heroism before they can stand in the ray of glowing light before the altar-- in ont.

The two youths, as it happens, have different nationalities. The boy from Palotabozsok is the offspring of a family driven by fate from Bukovina to North Bacska [when it was part of Hungary for a time during World War II] and then resettled into Hungary. The girl, however, is descended from a German family from Somberek that had survived the hardships of the resettlement of Germans in Hungary. Consequently, the unclouded idyllic happiness of the two youths is burdened by shadows; the memories of conflict and strife between the dispossessed indigenous Germans and the Szeklers who displaced them and received their property. They are conflicts that continue to feed the mistrust between Hungarians and Germans to this day.

## The Crime of Nationality

During the most recent episode of the nomadic migration of national minorities that started with WWII, the Szeklers of Bukovina, the Serbians of Bacska, and even the Germans living in Hungary, were swept onto the highway of nations in similar ways. What crimes did they commit? Why, after two centuries of coexistence, were they forced to leave their homes and possessions to become homeless fugitives overnight? No other reason than their nationalities, or the irreversible objective fact of having been born where one was born and speaking the language one speaks. In the film, the Szeklers from Bukovina, who were resettled according to the terms of the treaty of 1941 between Hungary and Romania, tell of Romanian authorities eliminating Hungarian schools, forcing them to speak Romanian, outlawing their use of the forest, etc.

In the eyes of the occupying Hungarian authorities, the same fact--mere nationality, was the crime of the Serbians who lived in Bacska. A Ministry of the Interior order issued on April 15, 1941 decreed the internment of any native Serbian language speaker or Serbian sympathizer considered /"unreliable"/ by the proper authorities.

On the surface the situation was different for Hungary's Germans. According to popular opinion, the 477,057 native German speakers living in Hungary, of whom only 303,419 were counted as being of German nationality, played the part of a fifth column; becoming traitors as they flocked into the Volksbund and the SS to prepare the total subjugation of Hungary by the German empire. Our ethnic German population is therefore collectively guilty; and accordingly was smitten by the collective punishment of deportation and resettlement. The first paragraph of decree number 12,330/1945 ME required the deportation not only of Volksbund members and SS soldiers, more precisely of those individuals who had changed their hungaricized names back to the German original, but of everyone who had listed himself during the last census of 1941 as being of German national origin, or as having German as the mother tongue.

## Resettlement/Deportation

One of the film's chief virtues is that by depicting instances of heart-rending human misfortune, it reveals the absurd consequences of this absurd policy. Based on the practice and principles of collective responsibility, there were people left in Hungary who to this day can face the camera saying that the lucky ones were those who were deported. But among those deported and resettled there were also some who would not trade their modest abodes for all the comforts and wealth of Germany, and others who cut across three or four borders with a five year old daughter in tow to return home, and those who came back just to die at home. These are the kinds of indigestible contradictions that result from thinking of a nation or national minority exclusively as a body politic by nature; and one which can be judged as a single entity for its acts, punishable as a morally sovereign individual for its crimes, and rewarded in like manner for its virtues.

## Responsibility

The film confronts the question of responsibility for the resettlement policy. We're not going to discuss the state's responsibility here, although we do disagree with the point of view of one of the film's narrators. Invoking the Potsdam Treaty, he blames the entire odious policy on the great powers. He seems unaware of the blame that must rest on the shoulders of the Hungarian government for actions of the Ministry of the Interior at the beginning and end of 1945, and which were assumed by the Hungarian government on 26 May 1945 and 30 August 1946. Herein we are mainly concerned with the political role of the church in connection with the deportations and resettlements.

The church's position regarding the political principles is clear and unambiguous. Following the steps of St. Thomas Aquinas, the church considers the nation as a kind of given principle or entity alongside nature, that has the function of educating and governing man during his existence.

The church did not deny the nation's German minority this right, even when it must have seen that despite every ounce of support; from the strongest efforts of Catholic organizations (primarily KALOT [National Body of Catholic Boys] and KALASZ [Union of Catholic Girls]), of the Society for Hungarian German Education, of the loyal German organizations, and later of the Loyalty to the Homeland movement--despite the efforts of all these groups; a considerable part of the nation's German population became part of the Volksbund network. Certain Hungarian nationalist circles began proclaiming the anti-human, and let us openly admit--fascist tenets of German collective responsibility and deportation. On 4 May 1945, the last president of the German Education Society, the prelate canon father Laszlo Pinter, reminded the Prime Minister that, while on the one hand, the principle of collective responsibility had been rejected by international accords, and on the other, the nation was applying the principle of individual blame to punishing the errors of arrow cross party and constabulary members, as well as public officials, it would be unjust "to employ the principle of collective guilt only against the German population of Hungary, particularly since...the large mass of the nation's Germans remained alienated from the Volksbund's agitations, beliefs and methods, despite the fiery inciteful German propaganda and terror."

Pinter also assails the spreading prejudiced belief that the mere admission of German ethnicity in the 1941 census was synonymous with a denial of loyalty to Hungary. Nationality, points out the prelate, is genealogical descent, language and lifestyle. "How for example would a Hungarian in Romania or anywhere else in the world respond if he were asked what his nationality is? Naturally he would claim to be Hungarian. Beyond that, his loyalty to the country he resides in is another question."

Need we call Laszlo Pinter's words prophetic? The admission of Hungarian ethnicity in Czechoslovakia has had similar consequences to those among Germans in Hungary.

#### Understanding Between Nationalities

One of the film's most depressing moral lessons is that the nationalities swept out onto the highway of history; the Szeklers, Serbians and Hungarians did not feel themselves the victims of a common fate and the heirs to a common hope. The Hungarians of Bukovina did not exhibit a great deal of understanding toward the Serbians of Bacska, and even less toward the Germans of Baranya. The encouraging examples of understanding, or at the very least of sympathy, between Hungarians and Germans cannot be found in Baranya County, but are from other German populated localities. One example is from Mosonszentpeter, where Hungarians from Northern Hungary were resettled on top of a native German population, and the German families were thrown out of their homes with but a few worthless knick-knacks. The next day one of the new Hungarian homeowners looked up his German predecessor and told him: "Come with me. I cannot accept what happened here yesterday."

#### The Solution

Livia Gyarmathy's staggeringly beautiful film leaves no doubt that the mutual discovery and marriage of the two young people from different nationalities has symbolic meaning for both communities. We must begin moving toward each other, wandering "the length of the soul and the highways of nations" for each others' sakes. Not only the 5 kilometer long road that winds between Palotabozsok and Somberek, but the much longer, several thousand kilometer long road that separates the souls of Hungarians from those of Germans. Only at the end of this road that spreads from soul to soul can we find the fraternal community of nations and peoples living happily alongside each other and sharing a common fate--in Baranya County and across the nation.

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HUNGARY

NEW PASSPORT LAW MINIMIZES TYPES, EASES REGULATIONS

Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 9 Dec 83 p 4

[Article by Gy. F.: "Four Types of Passport in Place of Eight"]

[Text] At a joint press conference that the Ministry of the Interior and the Ministry of Finance held yesterday at the headquarterns of the MUOSZ [National Federation of Hungarian Journalists] it was announced that changes in the regulations governing foreign travel and passports would become effective as of 1 January 1984. Police Colonel Mrs Tibor Drucker, head of the Interior Ministry's Passport Department, said that the eight types of passports now in use would be replaced by four: diplomatic passports, official passports, nonofficial passports, and passports for Hungarian citizens living abroad.

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs will continue to issue diplomatic passports, and eligibility for official passports is regulated by a decree of the Council of Ministers. The change affecting the largest number of people is that the red and the blue passports will cease, and in the future there will be only a uniform blue nonofficial passport that will be valid for travel to any country. As before, such a passport can be issued to a person who is traveling abroad for a private visit or as a tourist, alone or in a group; and also to a person traveling abroad on official business but not entitled to an official passport.

Several types of official passports have been in force up to now, due to the special passports for certain professions. These too will now be unified. The countries to which the new official passport may be used will be printed in it; in other words, may be used for travel to any country. The same text will appear also in the blue-covered nonofficial passports, but of course with the restriction that the passport is only valid for travel to the specified country of destination and the countries approved for reaching it.

The passport changes do not affect the opportunities and conditions for traveling abroad. The authority of the organs that issue passports remains unchanged. Thus nonofficial passports and exit visas for travel to socialist countries will be issued by the central police station of the applicant's place of permanent residence; for travel to all other countries, the nonofficial passports and exit visas will be issued by the megye or Budapest central police station.

The nonofficial passport may be used for both private and official travel to Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Poland, the German Democratic Republic and Romania, with the exit visa valid for repeated use. For travel to all other countries the exit visa will be good for only one exit. The "window" authorizing repeated exits to the European socialist countries will be rubber-stamped into the passport. The one-time exit visa for travel to the Soviet Union or Yugoslavia will be stamped into the passport in the same manner. As of 1 January the exit visa for travel to all other countries will be issued on a separate insert, partially to avoid having to submit the passport when applying for the exist visa, and partially because the insert will replace also the statistical reporting form, which the passport's holder will no longer have to fill out.

The simplification will include also changes in the passport application forms; the new forms will contain substantially fewer questions than the present ones. As before, also the new forms will be obtainable at travel bureaus and the post office. For reasons of economy, the application forms purchased earlier may still be used next year. It is important to know that in the future, together with the application for an exit visa to a nonsocialist country, it will be possible to apply also for a visa for repeated exists to Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Poland, the GDR and Romania.

Old passports will be exchanged for new ones gradually. All those whose passports contain an unused exit visa issued before 1 January 1984 may still use the exit visa before their passports expire, and thus they do not need to apply for new passports. With the expiration of the passport, however, the unused exit visa loses its validity. Anyone applying for a passport to a socialist or nonsocialist country after 1 January 1984 must attach his old passport or passports to the application, but the unused exit visa in the old passport will be carried over into the new passport, without a fee.

Due to the changes in the regulations governing travel abroad, the minister of finance is modifying the passport fees as of 1 January 1984. A representative of the Ministry of Finance said that the 49 different fees at present would be replaced essentially by one fee. Passport fees now ranged from 20 to 4000 forints. In the case of both official and nonofficial passports, the fee would be 350 forints, payable for the exit visa, regardless of whether it was valid for one or repeated exits. The fee for border-zone residents would increase from 20 to 100 forints, while the fee for emigration applications would be reduced from 4000 to 1000 forints. A 50-forint duty stamp must be affixed to the application for one-time transit travel through Yugoslavia. The fee for urgent processing, when warranted, would be 100 forints; the fee for filing an appeal, likewise 100 forints; and the fee for entering a child under 14 in the passport of one of the parents, 50 forints. Every Hungarian citizen who held an identification card would be issued a separate passport. Separate passports would be issued to children under 14 only if they were not being accompanied by parents when traveling abroad.

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POLAND

EDUCATION MINISTER DISCUSSES DEMOGRAPHIC EXPLOSION

Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 8 Dec 83 p 2

[Interview with Prof Dr Boleslaw Faron, minister of education, by Danuta Drachal, PAP: "Appeal for Social Cooperation"; date and place not specified]

[Text] For understandable reasons, issues of the demographic explosion occupy the attention of public opinion. The consequences of this phenomenon will be felt in a very obvious manner on school premises. A journalist of PAP discusses these problems with Boleslaw Faron, minister of education.

[Question] In what form and to what extent do the results of the demographic explosion stand out in relation to education?

[Answer] In order to conceive of what awaits us I will employ some statistics. Since 1978 a successive, long-term demographic explosion has begun. Its magnitude is much higher than previous forecasts. For example, I submit that in 1980 we had 8.8 million children and youth in the 3 to 18-year age range, while in 1985 there will be 9.5 million of them; this indicates a gain of 660,000. In the next 5 years this increment will be even somewhat higher. In sum, at the end of the present decade we will have even more than 1.1 million additional children and young people than at its outset.

Let us recall that in 1970 a total of 546,000 children were born, in 1975-- 643,000, and last year--702,000. This wave of children is approaching the doors of our kindergartens and schools. And thus, for example, in 1977 we had in the beginning grades of grammar school 530,000 pupils, and in this school year already 653,000 of them.

Definite consequences for educational policy result from these facts. We must provide youth with suitable and proper conditions in which to learn, but not only this. Despite the difficulties, we desire to concern ourselves with an appropriately high level of education. In accordance with the resolution of the Ninth Extraordinary Congress of the PZPR, we are confronted with the tasks of disseminating secondary education in our country, equalizing the starting point of young people from various social backgrounds, and effecting evolutionary program changes.

[Question] How does the ministry intend in this "demographic situation" to solve the problems of the teaching staff and the educational base?

[Answer] These are very difficult tasks. We are aware of their complexity. By 1990 we will have to create 37,500 new kindergarten and school branches. For this alone we must employ an additional 74,000 teachers.

We are solving the problem of our teaching staff through close cooperation with the ministry of science, higher education and technology. A recruitment program has been worked out for teacher education at universities, the Higher Pedagogical School [WSP] and other higher schools for training teachers. For these specialties it will be necessary to procure the knowledge of many more young people than is presently the case. However, the effects of these efforts will only be apparent a few years from now.

In this situation the ministry of education has undertaken and will develop the training of teachers for the most elementary grammar school classes (in which area the lack of staff is the greatest) in a 2-year cycle following high school graduation and in a 6-year cycle of teacher studies. Advantage will be taken of the positive experiences of precisely such preparatory schools providing kindergarten teachers, as well as of the old, good experiences of the pedagogical secondary schools.

This does not mean that we are abandoning the complete higher education of teachers. We only feel that in the present circumstances the avenues leading to this goal can and must be varied.

We therefore also desire that the 2-year post-high school and the 6-year schools for teachers in elementary education be linked with a system of advanced studies and that this system be an effective one. Graduates of teacher education can continue their education at universities or at the Higher Pedagogical School in a system of 3-year correspondence graduate work. They will therefore have an open door for the completion of an entire program of advanced studies. We desire to ensure similar opportunities for those teachers employed out of necessity without the required qualifications.

Already next year the present 2-year program of elementary education will produce approximately 3,000 graduates, who will staff schools especially in small towns and in the countryside, where the needs in this field are the greatest.

[Question] However, the teacher alone is not sufficient. Buildings, classrooms and textbooks are also required. How does the ministry view these problems?

[Answer] I can say that we know precisely where we stand on this issue. Perhaps for the first time since World War II a very extensive and accurate report has been prepared regarding the educational material base and its requirements in this area. We know precisely what we need and where. This report likewise indicates the scope of our requirements. It is greatly magnified since half of our school buildings were built before World War II.

We are therefore confronted by the depreciation of our educational resources. We require large sums of money for repairs and we must also introduce many new school buildings in order to keep pace with the requirements of the demographic explosion, particularly in large cities and especially in the new residential areas. We already have to contend with a lack of places in our schools, classes that are too large, and instruction in several shifts. We are forced to transport children, for example, from Warsaw to schools in outlying areas of the city.

The educational ministry does not presently have any centralized funds for school construction. These funds are completely in the hands of the local authorities, and they decide what is built and where. They also know best their own needs. On the basis of our calculations it is evident that as a result of the demographic explosion up to 1985 we will additionally require more than 600 kindergartens and approximately 650 grammar schools. Provincial plans in this regard are much more modest--as they foresee only about 400 school buildings.

Coping with such large tasks will require a great effort on the part of both the state and society. It will be necessary to unite around these activities the initiatives of many institutions, social organizations, ministries and the highest levels of national administration. It seems sensible to create local social funds for building schools and educational institutions. We are already witnessing many valuable, spontaneous social initiatives on the part of the population. Committees are being formed to collect funds for building, repairing, and modernizing schools. We desire these efforts to become as widespread as possible. Much will depend on the inspirational activities and support of the local authorities and on the energy of the social movement PRON [Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth].

The demographic explosion presents us with specific and very large tasks. Among others they include ensuring the requisite number of textbooks for our pupils. The growing number of children necessitates a gain in total editions of schoolbooks in 1984-1985 of 1.1 million copies annually. Coping with this task is very difficult and to a large extent depends on printing resources. We pin some hope on the distribution system of free textbooks for grammar school pupils. These books have to last 3 years. This requires a cost-saving proprietary approach to them, repair of damaged books by the pupil themselves. However, one must remember that the annual edition of schoolbooks already reaches 30 million copies.

The government is quite aware of all these difficulties and problems stemming from the consequences of the demographic explosion for the educational system and consistently allocates continually more funds for educational matters; the education ministry also helps in other areas. Despite these governmental activities, amelioration of the effects of the demographic explosion will require the broad cooperation of all of society. At the conclusion of our interview I desire to appeal for the creation of a common, uniform front of activity to solve these educational problems. We want to support whenever possible the construction and repair of schools, kindergartens and other institutions.

POLAND

INFORMATION ON STRUCTURE OF ARMED FORCES FURNISHED

National Air Defense Forces

Warsaw ZOLNIERZ POLSKI in Polish No 48, 27 Nov 83 p 21

[Article: "Subcelestial Shield--Polish Armed Forces: National Air Defense Forces"]

[Text] Modern Wars

They begin in the sky and are even carried on from the air. An example of this was the American aggression in Vietnam, especially the bombing of North Vietnam. The development of airborne means of attack, aviation and rocket weapons, have caused national air defense to become particularly important.

In our defense system the role of the subcelestial field is fulfilled by the WOPK, the National Air Defense Forces. They are one of the youngest branches of the armed forces. They celebrated their 20th anniversary last year, but their origin goes back quite a bit further in time, inasmuch as the WOPK took over and continue the combat traditions of the antiaircraft members of the people's Polish Army from the wartime years. At that time there were antiaircraft artillery divisions, fighter aircraft regiments, and a reconnaissance and observation battalion. The best known antiaircraft unit from those years was the First Antiaircraft Artillery Division, whose soldiers repulsed the German air attacks on Kiev and Darnica.

The WOPK have come to be commonly called "the five-minute armies." Why? This is the way this question was answered by WOPK Gen Dyw Longin Lozowicki in an interview with our weekly: "...The attack comes terribly fast. Therefore, in able to detect the aircraft and determine their target, air defense does not have much time. But this is only the beginning of the task. In order to combat the attack, active agents must be informed, intercept aircraft and rocket units, and this must occur in time for them to be able to reach and destroy the attacking forces. Let us also recall that the enemy can endanger the targets from great distances. Therefore the attacking forces must be destroyed while they are still approaching from great distances. And this means greatly reducing the time for effective action on the part of air defense." ("Shield Over Poland," ZOLNIERZ POLSKI, No 38, 11 Sep 1983).

The WOPK covers the country's entire territory, but we could say that their attention is directed particularly at important industrial, political-administration, and transportation centers, that is, those centers which would probably be major targets of the aggressor's attack.

Therefore, let us try to answer very briefly the question of what WOPK activity is.

First, it consists of incessantly monitoring the country's airspace, detecting objects which appear in the air (for example, aircraft), identifying them (ours or foreign; rocket or aircraft, balloon, or something else), and giving other data on the objects detected (range, speed, course, and so on).

Next, it consists of transmitting the information to other branches of the army and to the national defense system, on the basis of the observation which the WOPK air sector has made.

Third, in the event of an air attack by the aggressor, the WOPK's task is to repulse the attack.

Fourth, they supervise and control the traffic of aircraft (all aircraft, civilian included) both ours and foreign aircraft (for example, to see that aircraft fly on established airways).

Fifth, the WOPK carries out its tasks in close cooperation with the air defense systems of the Warsaw Pact countries.

Next Question: Of What Sort of Forces Does the WOPK Consist?

Let us start with the "eyes" of air defense, the radio engineering branch. It has radar equipment making it possible to detect targets (flying objects) at various altitudes, from very low altitudes to the stratosphere, not only within our country but also beyond the borders of our airspace. The radio engineering branch not only picks up targets but also tracks them, supplying the necessary information.

WOPK's rocket and artillery forces are designated to destroy the detected air attack forces flying at various altitudes and speeds.

The rocket forces are used especially to protect certain installations and regions (independently or in conjunction with aviation). From the data received from the radio engineers they can accurately home on a target and destroy it at the most convenient moment. WOPK rockets operate effectively regardless of weather or time of day or year. They can destroy maneuverable targets (those that change their range and direction of flight) as well as targets using radio interference and jamming.

Despite the wide use of rockets, artillery has not lost its importance (as can be seen from the Vietnam War, in which large numbers of American airplanes and helicopters were destroyed by antiaircraft artillery and large-calibre

machine-guns). For example, among the WOPK equipment are small- and medium-calibre antiaircraft guns (especially dangerous to aircraft flying at low altitudes).

An important element of air defense is our air force, which is used, for example, to destroy attack aircraft while they are still far from the installations being protected. The WOPK fighter force is equipped with the most modern pursuit planes. One of their virtues is their wide range of airspeeds, from minimum subsonic speeds to maximum supersonic speeds, which greatly enhances their maneuverability. These airplanes are equipped with various sorts of air-to-air missiles and various ways of guidance to targets. The use of additional take-off equipment makes it possible to reduce takeoffs to a minimum distance.

As a very active and maneuverable means of defense, the WOPK air force can shield not only individual installations but also large regions. It can shift its forces to those directions which are in particular danger. It has a wide scope of operations.

Alongside these three basic types of forces, the radio engineers, rockets and artillery, and the air force, the WOPK also consists of the following:

Communications forces providing information, warning, and command,

Chemical forces for protection of the WOPK from weapons of mass destruction,

Supply, engineering, and other detachments.

#### Modernity

The first characteristic of the National Air Defense Forces is modernity of equipment and weaponry. Forces of this type are especially heavily equipped with electronics, which during the past 20 years has passed through four stages of development: from tube technology through transistors and the popular solid-state technology to integrated unified circuits.

Take aircraft equipment, for example. Back in the 1950's military aircraft equipment and apparatus consisted on an average of 2,000 components, but there are now more than 100,000. Through the miniaturization of electronics it has been possible to fit an airplane with auxiliary equipment for the pilot. For example, he need not bother his head about continually advising the stations tracking him that his is "friend" and not foe, because he has electronic equipment to identify targets. The receiver of this apparatus, installed in the cockpit and operating automatically, at the moment of the radar sweep over the aircraft activates a transmitter. Therefore, the ground radar station receives two signals, its own reflected from the aircraft and the identifying signal transmitted by the equipment located on board the aircraft, thereby making it possible for the radar station personnel to know immediately whether they are dealing with friendly aircraft or enemy aircraft.

But the effectiveness of the operations of the National Air Defense Forces depends not merely on technology and engineering.

## People Are the Most Important

The effectiveness of the operations of the National Air Defense Forces depends above all on people, their patriotism, their idealism, their skill, and their knowledge. The soldiers and commanders of the WOPK are masters in their specialties. Suffice it to mention a few names: Major Pilot Jerzy Kopeć, air combat master; Lt Col Wiesław Wysocki, master rocket subdetachment commander; and Capt Józef Bądowicz, master radio engineering subdetachment commander.

In closing, let us add one more excerpt from the above-mentioned interview with the WOPK commander: "...The requirements being made of our soldiers are constantly increasing. They follow from the need to provide for effective defense against attack. The continual improvement in combat readiness, combat practice, exercises, and training, and providing for the efficient operation of a wide range of modern equipment make service in our forces difficult. The requirements in the realm of education, professional skill, and efficiency are very high. This is simply necessary. I think that we can handle them."

## Naval Forces

Warsaw ZOLNIERZ POLSKI in Polish No 49, 4 Dec 83 p 21

[Article: "People's Poland's Armed Forces: the Navy"]

[Text] The navy's task is to defend sea limits and support land armies operating along the coast. Its basic charges are to destroy the enemy at sea, to take part in protecting our coast, to prevent invasion from the sea, and to carry by sea both men and materiel for military purposes.

The history of the navy of People's Poland began with ... people! And the beginning of this popular movement was far from the sea, in Lublin. It was right there that on 29 October 1944 the first independent reserve sea battalion was formed. The battles of Oksywo and Westerplatte were still going on, when soldiers from this battalion came to Gdańsk and took up watch on the Baltic.

On 8 April 1945 the ensign was raised on the first ship of the navy of People's Poland, on the Korsarz, a very threatening name with room for development, because this first ship was a pilot boat obtained from the bottom of the sea basin.

Therefore it was a beginning from zero. The Polish ships and crew who had become famous in battling the Nazi Kriegsmarine were still in the West, and it was not easy to get them back. In time the Swedes gave us back the submarines Sep, Rys, and Zbik. The English were in absolutely no hurry, with the destroyer Błyskawice not being returned until July 1947 and the submarine Wilk, 6 years after the war, fit only for scrap metal.

Fortunately the Soviet Union answered our need to secure our border at sea. On 31 March 1946 nine trawlers, 12 small submarine motor boats, and two tor-

pedo cutters sent by the USSR sailed into the military port in Gdynia. Most useful were the trawlers, which sailors call "sea plows," assigned to remove mines from coastal waters.

Thus, the 1940's were a difficult time for our military fleet to build up its holdings.

In the 1950's submarines were added to the navy's defense equipment, along with large submarine motor boats, destroyers, and torpedo cutters bought from the Soviet Union. Our shipbuilding industry was also well enough developed to be able to begin building certain classes of ships (initially on the basis of Soviet licenses).

The years 1963-1965 were very important in the development of our navy. It was then that rocket ships bought from the Soviet Union were added to the list. They began the present generation of ships.

The navy presently has a fleet several times the size of the pre-1939 fleet. It is also far greater in terms of tonnage and firepower. It includes groups of surface and submarine craft, naval aircraft, coastal units, and communications, engineers, technicians, hydrographic specialists, rescue, supply, medical specialists, and so on.

The surface craft are combat ships, both specialized vessels and ancillary ships. In terms of size (displacement) they class among light forces (most useful for Baltic operations). There are destroyers, rocket cutters and torpedo cutters, submarine motor boats, observation vessels, landing craft, trawlers, tankers, hydrographic ships, rescue boats, and so on.

Each of the ships mentioned is assigned to carry out various complex tasks. For example, the destroyers have heavy weapons, rockets, guns, and others, and can wage battle with the enemy's ships, shield and support a landing by sea, place mines, battle submarines, and act to protect other ships. Small rocket ships and torpedo cutters are mainly designated to operate along the enemy's coastal transportation routes. They can destroy ships on the road and in bases, and they can also take part in protecting our own coast from a landing.

The submarines have modern equipment and are designated to operate at great distances and to strike important units of the enemy's sea forces, his convoys, and so on. These ships can also conduct reconnaissance, blockade bases and ports, and set up mine barriers.

Naval aviation carries out such tasks as shielding our own installations from the air, conducting reconnaissance, and making strikes on the enemy's submarines and surface vessels.

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CSO: 2600/530

POLAND

STATE OF EMERGENCY REGULATIONS RELEASED

Warsaw DZIENNIK USTAW in Polish No 66, 10 Dec 83 pp 847-850

Law of 5 December 1983 Concerning the State of Emergency

Text Chapter 1

General Regulations

Article 1. 1. A state of emergency is instituted for a specific time in all or part of the territory of the Polish People's Republic in case of a natural disaster or if the internal security of the state has been threatened.

2. A state of emergency that has been declared because of a natural disaster is instituted in all of the territory of the Polish People's Republic in case natural events occur in wide areas of the state that threaten the life or health of the majority of individuals, or that threaten property that is significant or that can cause serious dislocations in the national economy and that require exceptional measures to be taken to protect the basic interests of the state and its citizens; a state of emergency that has been declared because of a natural disaster is instituted within the borders of one or several provinces or in specific parts of these units of territorial division if such events occur in the territory of these units of territorial division or in their specific parts.

3. A state of emergency that has been declared because of an internal threat to the security of the state is instituted in all of the territory of the Polish People's Republic if there is a serious threat to or breach of the peace, law and public order in significant areas of the state that require exceptional measures to be taken to protect the basic interests of the state and its citizens; a state of emergency that has been declared because of an internal threat to the security of the state is instituted within the borders of one or several provinces or in specific parts of these units of territorial division if such circumstances exist in the territory of these units of territorial divisions or in their specific parts.

Article 2. 1. The Council of State institutes a state of emergency by means of a resolution; in cases of great urgency, it is instituted by the chairman of the Council of State on his own initiative or by way of a decree at the recommendation of the Council of Ministers or the National Defense Committee.

2. The reasons for instituting a state of emergency, the terms of its declaration, the time period for which this state is in effect and the territory in which it will be in effect are designated in the resolution or the decree mentioned in par. 1.

3. The chairman of the Council of State immediately sends the resolution or decree concerning the institution of a state of emergency to the Presidium of the Sejm, the chairman of the Council of Ministers and to the chairman of the National Defense Committee. The minister of foreign affairs informs the secretary general of the United Nations about the institution of a state of emergency.

4. The governors of those territories in which a state of emergency has been instituted inform the public, by way of proclamations, that a state of emergency has been instituted and of its legal effects in the realm of a citizen's obligations and rights, making sure that the proclamations are posted in publicly accessible areas; they also inform the public of their contents via the regional mass media, plant and public radio networks, megaphone equipment or in other ways normally used in the given area.

Article 3. 1. The Council of State can lift a state of emergency by means of a resolution before its specified expiration date if the reasons for its institution no longer exist; or it can extend the designated state of emergency beyond its initially designated expiration date if the threat of the natural disaster or the threat to the state's internal security has not ended.

2. A state of emergency is lifted by virtue of the law when its specified duration has expired.

Article 4. The resolutions and decrees mentioned in art. 2, par. 1 and art. 3, par. 1 are subordinate to announcements in the DZIENNIK USTAW of the Polish People's Republic and publications in the mass media.

Article 5. If a term of office of the Sejm or people's councils and the organs selected by these councils ends during the obligatory period of the state of emergency, then the term of office is extended. The Sejm establishes the expiration of a term of office by means of a law.

Article 6. The institution of a state of emergency temporarily suspends or limits some basic civil rights in the realm of personal immunity (art. 87, par. 1 of the Constitution), the inviolability of homes and secrecy of communications (art. 87, par. 2 of the Constitution), the right to organize (art. 84, par. 1 of the Constitution) and the freedom to assemble, to hold public meetings and to hold marches and demonstrations (art. 83, par. 1 of the Constitution) that are designated in the Constitution of the Polish People's Republic and in other laws as well as in international treaties to which the Polish People's Republic is a party.

2. Also, the institution of a state of emergency temporarily:

- 1) imposes special obligations on citizens and on state, cooperative, social and self-government organizational units;
  - 2) imposes changes in the realm of labor laws;
  - 3) establishes specific liabilities of citizens, including public functionaries for non-compliance with the legal system or the unconscious performance of obligations to the state.
3. The scope and rules for applying the par. 1 and par. 2 regulations are designated by the laws and the regulations issued on the basis of these laws.

Article 7. 1. The institution of a state of emergency occasions consequences while the state of emergency is in force, which henceforth are called "disciplines" and are specified in the laws and the regulations issued on the basis of these laws, that apply to:

- 1) all Polish citizens registered or living in an area of a state unit of territorial division in which a state of emergency has been instituted, and to their property located in this area;
- 2) state, cooperative, social and self-government organizational units or their parts that are located in an area of a state unit of territorial division in which a state of emergency has been instituted, and to their property located in this area;
- 3) foreigners living in an area of a state unit of territorial division in which a state of emergency has been instituted, and their property located in this area and the property of other persons and corporate bodies that are headquartered abroad unless the provisions of the laws or the international treaties to which the Polish People's Republic is a party proclaim otherwise, or if internationally recognized customs proclaim otherwise on condition of reciprocity, or when the regulations instituting the disciplines proclaim that they are not applicable to foreigners and their property.

2. When a state of emergency is instituted only in part of the territory of the Polish People's Republic, the disciplines of this state can also be applied beyond the borders of the state unit of territorial division in which the state of emergency was instituted if so required by reasons of the state of emergency.

## Chapter 2

### Disciplines of a State of Emergency That Has Been Instituted Because of a Natural Disaster

Article 8. During the obligatory period of a state of emergency that has been instituted because of a natural disaster, the individuals and units mentioned in points 1 and 2 of art. 7, par. 1 are obligated to provide personal and material services especially in the areas of:

- 1) undertaking immediate rescue action;
- 2) providing first aid to victims of the disaster and protecting their property as well as protecting livestock that is threatened as a result of the natural disaster;
- 3) fulfilling guard duty, providing accommodations and performing tasks as well as providing equipment and transportation that are needed to conduct organized social action to combat the natural disaster;
- 4) performing orderly duties and conducting fire-fighting activities as well as providing owned resources and supplying equipment needed to combat a fire;
- 5) managing land use as well as using other restrictions in their use that are necessary to prevent a flood, performing urgent preventive work, providing owned materials and participating in direct flood prevention action;
- 6) submitting to preventive inoculation, to medical examinations and compulsory medical treatment and performing hygienic and sanitary procedures to combat infectious diseases, refraining from performing specific acts and from using designated equipment and going to designated areas, executing designated tasks as well as offering premises and transportation resources to combat an epidemic.

The above services are provided on the basis of and in accordance with the separate laws and the regulations issued on the basis of these laws.

2. The separate laws and the regulations issued on the basis of these laws designate the scope and rules for the participation of civil defense departments, the Citizens' Militia, the Volunteer Reserve of the Citizens' Militia, fire departments and organizational units of the Armed Forces of the Polish People's Republic as well as other organized social forces in combating natural disasters and in rescue operations.

Article 9. As representatives of the government in their territory, governors can implement, by means of a regulatory directive, orders to evacuate individuals and to abandon property within a designated time in designated areas as well as bans concerning the arrival and passage of individuals in designated areas, at the same time specifying the areas affected by the order or ban, their obligatory period and the category of individual exempted from these orders and bans.

2. If a state of emergency is instituted in all of the territory of the Polish People's Republic, the disciplines listed in par. 1 can also be implemented by the chairman of the Council of Ministers by means of a decree.

Article 10. The Council of Ministers can institute by decree changes in the realm of labor laws, based on admissibility, regarding:

- 1) a worker annulling a work relationship only with the agreement of the director of the workplace;

- 2) a workplace director extending the work time of workers to 46 hours weekly and 8 hours daily;
- 3) a work relationship with an individual seeking work in a workplace only after the individual has presented beforehand a certificate of work from his last workplace;
- 4) awarding a worker who is starting a new job only the lowest basic pay that is specified in the mandatory qualification schedule of rates for the job accepted by him if he quit his last job or left his last job without notice;
- 5) assigning other kind of work to a worker without the need to inform him of the working conditions arising from the labor relationship; however, the worker cannot be paid less than he has been paid so far while performing this other kind of work.

The above decree must also designate the scope of and rules for applying these changes.

2. The Council of Ministers can institute by means of a decree:

- 1) mandatory labor mediations, designating their scope, rules and procedures as well as the competent organs in these matters;
- 2) a requirement that an individual directed during a mediation procedure to work in a socialized plant must be accepted for employment by that plant.

Article 11. The minister of communications, with the agreement of the minister of internal affairs, can implement by means of a decree necessary limitations on operating communications equipment as well on performing postal and telecommunication services.

Article 12. The minister of communications, with the agreement of the minister of internal affairs and the minister of national defense, can implement by means of a decree necessary limitations in road, rail, air and inland waterway transportation as well as allow goods to be accepted for shipment only under designated conditions.

2. The minister-director of the Office of Maritime Economy, in agreement with the minister of internal affairs and the minister of national defense, can implement by means of a decree necessary limitations on the movement of objects sailing on inland waterways and in territorial waters.

### Chapter 3

#### Discipline of a State of Emergency That Has Been Instituted Because of a Threat to the Internal Security of the State

Article 13. The right to organize and conduct any kind of strike and protest activity is suspended.

Article 14. 1. Warning talks can be held with an individual whose behavior to date justifies the suspicion that he will not observe the legal order and not manifest demoralization. This regulation also applies to individuals who are over 14 years old.

2. If the warning talks are held with a minor who is over 14 but less than 18 years old, then his parents or the minor's legal guardians also participate in the talks.

3. During the course of the warning talks, a written promise is obtained from the individual with whom the talks are being held or from the legal guardian of an individual who is 15 to 17 years old to observe the legal order, and the individual is also informed about the disciplines of the state of emergency and the liabilities incurred for violating the disciplines.

4. The minister of internal affairs designates by means of a decree the rules and procedures for holding warning talks.

Article 15. 1. Individuals 18 years and older whose behavior to date justifies the suspicion that in being free they will not observe the legal order or that they will take action threatening the interest of the state's security can be interned for the obligatory time of the state of emergency to isolation centers. These decisions do not violate the immunities specified in specific regulations.

2. Individuals who are 17 years old can be interned if previously held warning talks turn out to be unsuccessful.

3. The internment procedure is directed from the office of internal affairs, and the internment decision is issued by the chief of the provincial office of internal affairs in whose area of activity the individual mentioned in pars. 1 and 2 is registered or who lives there or lived there before hiding.

4. The internment decision is handed to the internee personally by the Security Service or Citizens' Militia functionary at the moment he is apprehended. The internment decision is subject to immediate execution.

5. An internee may appeal the decision on his internment to the minister of internal affairs. Submitting the appeal does not delay execution of the internment decision.

6. Internment is averted during the obligatory time of a state of emergency if during this time the reasons justifying the internment are no longer valid.

7. The internee's work relationship cannot be terminated during his period of internment in an isolation center unless circumstances existed prior to internment justifying the termination of the labor relationship without notice because of his fault or it was indicated that he quit his job. In these cases the time limit for taking legal action against terminating a labor relationship starts from the time the party of interest is no longer interned.

8. The Council of Ministers designates by decree the detailed rules for the internment procedure and the rights of the internee and their families.
9. The prosecutor general of the Polish People's Republic and his subordinate prosecutors verify the observance of laws concerning internment on the basis of and in the course of prosecutorial verification of observance of laws.
10. The minister of justice, in agreement with the minister of internal affairs, creates and abolishes isolation centers and designates by decree the living regulations of those interned in these centers as well as the permissible conditions and rules for using physical force and specific means of protection and finally arms in these centers. The isolation centers are subordinated to the minister of justice.

11. The appropriate regulations concerning penitentiary supervision and making a provisional arrest are used to intern an individual in an isolation center. The Prison Service performs the task of internment in the isolation centers.

Article 16. 1. The use of printing plants and equipment and apparatus to produce records of pictures, words and sounds by any means in order to disseminate them publicly, as well as the use of plants producing seals and stamps require the prior permission of organs controlling publishing and public performances; plants, equipment and apparatus that are in the possession of state and cooperative organizational units require the prior permission of the appropriate minister (the director of the central office or institution), governor or chairman of the central administration of the cooperative association.

2. Permission to use the plants, equipment and apparatus mentioned in par. 1 is granted if this use does not threaten the security interests of the state.

3. In case it is ascertained that the plants, equipment or apparatuses mentioned in par. 1 are being used without the required permission or contrary to its conditions, the organs controlling publications and public performances or other cognizant organs can seize and hold the equipment and apparatus that is being used and close the plant or in other ways safeguard them against further use as based on the rules and procedures specified in the execution proceeding in the administration.

4. The chairman of the Main Office for the Control of Publishing and Public Performance, with the agreement of the chairman of the Council of State, designates the procedure in the matters mentioned in par. 1.

Article 17. Every individual in a public place is required to have on his person identification documents; students who do not have such documents and are over 14 years old must have a school identity card.

Article 18. As representatives of the government in their territory, governors can by means of a regulation directive:

- 1) limit a person's freedom of movement based on an order or ban to remain or leave within an established time designated places, buildings and areas (the militia hour), at the same time specifying the places, buildings or areas included in the order or ban, their obligatory time and the category of individuals that are exempt from these orders and bans;
- 2) require that permission must be obtained to change a permanent or temporary residence based on transferring to another place, and a requirement to register within 12 hours after arriving at the designated place, and at the same time designating the category of individuals subject to this requirement as well as the results and procedures and the competent organs in these matters;
- 3) issue a ban against calling and holding any kind of meeting, and organizing and conducting public artistic, entertainment and sports events as well as public assemblies, except for the services and religious ceremonies of churches and religious associations and assemblies for religious assemblies for religious purposes that are held on church grounds, in chapels and in houses of prayer that are designated exclusively for those purposes;
- 4) suspend the activities of social and professional associations, unions and organizations or their administrations, except those of churches and religious associations operating in the province's territory whose activities threaten public safety in the given territory, at the same time designating the means for protecting their assets and documents as well as the procedure in matters relating to the labor relationship of individuals employed by them, as well as the rules for activities of their administrations;
- 5) prohibit the photographing, filing or televising of designated locations and objects in designated areas.

2. The disciplines mentioned in par. 1 can also be instituted by the chairman of the Council of Ministers by decree in case a state of emergency is instituted in all of the territory of the Polish People's Republic.

Article 19. 1. The Council of Ministers can institute by decree the censoring of mail and telecommunication correspondence as well as control telephone conversations and telex communications, at the same time designating the censoring organs that are competent in these matters and the rules and procedures for their operation.

2. Censoring organs have the right to withhold in whole or in part mail and telecommunication correspondence as well as to interrupt telephone and telex communications if their contents can threaten the security interests of the state. The decisions of the censoring organs in these matters are final and are not subject to legal action. The held mail and telecommunication correspondence are subject to confiscation by the State Treasury without compensation.

Article 20. 1. The Council of Ministers can by decree:

- 1) suspend the activities of worker self-governments of state enterprises and other state economic organizations as well as those of worker, professional and plant self-governments in state, cooperative and social organizational units, or limit their activities, especially in the realm of peremptory rights, at the same time designating the operating rules and procedures and the organs that are competent in matters within the competence of self-governing organs;
  - 2) give promotion organs in state enterprises and the competent organs in the state administration concerned with cooperatives the right to oblige respectively the enterprise and cooperative to introduce tasks into the plan or to designate tasks outside the plan of the given unit of the socialized economy.
2. For the case mentioned in par. 1, point 2, the following apply: the appropriate regulations of the law of 25 September 1981 concerning state enterprises (DZIENNIK USTAW No 24, item 122; from 1982--No 45, Item 289; from 1983--No 36, item 165 and No 39, item 176) or the law of 16 September 1982 on cooperatives (DZIENNIK USTAW No 30, item 210; from 1983--No 39, item 176).

Article 21. In case public safety is threatened or violated, the ministers (directors of central offices) supervising the activities of the higher schools can suspend the educational activities of the higher schools or of their organizational units for a specified time.

2. The par. 1 regulation is duly applicable to the ministers and governors supervising the activities of the post-elementary schools.

Article 22. The minister of internal affairs can institute by decree:

- 1) a requirement to deposit all types of firearms as well as ammunition and explosive materials, specifying at the same time the rules and procedures as well as the competent organs in these matters;
- 2) a ban on carrying any kind of arms and other dangerous articles, devices and equipment whose use can threaten public safety.

Article 23. The minister of communications can institute by decree a requirement to deposit radio transmitting and transmitting-receiving equipment, specifying at the same time the rules and procedures as well as the competent organs in these matters.

Article 24. The minister of finance, in agreement with the Polish National Bank, can institute by decree necessary limitations in the realm of money and foreign exchange transactions.

Article 25. During the obligatory period of a state of emergency that has been instituted because of an internal threat to the security of the state, the regulations of arts. 10-12 of this law are also applicable.

## Chapter 4

### The Functions of the Administrator in Matters Relating to the Security and Defense of the State During the Obligatory Period of a State of Emergency

Article 26. 1. The National Defense Committee performs the functions of administrator in matters relating to the security and defense of the state during the obligatory period of a state of emergency that has been instituted in all or part of the territory of the Polish People's Republic; these functions are also performed by the competent local provincial defense committees with regard to individual state units of territorial division.

2. Performing the functions of administrator mentioned in par. 1 consists in:

- 1) initiating the institution by competent organs of the state administration of the appropriate disciplines of the state of emergency, tempering and annulling them as needed, as well as taking other actions designed to realize the goals of the instituted state of emergency;
- 2) controlling the realization of the legal regulations concerning the state of emergency as well as other regulations associated with realizing the goals of the instituted state of emergency.
- 3) monitoring the activities of state administration organs and the activities of directors of state, cooperative and self-government organizational units in the realm of realizing the discipline of the state of emergency and other actions taken to realize the goal of the instituted state of emergency;
- 4) coordinating the activities mentioned in point 3;
- 5) establishing the detail tasks resulting from the state of emergency as well as the general rules and procedure for their realization by the organs and directors mentioned in point 3.

3. The administrative functions mentioned in par. 1 are performed by the National Defense Committee and the provincial defense committees especially with the help of plenipotentiaries of the National Defense Committee who were chosen on the basis of and in accordance with the regulations specified in the law of 21 November 1967 concerning the universal obligation to defend the Polish People's Republic (DZIENNIK USTAW 1979 No 18, item 111; 1983 No 41, item 185, and No 61, item 278).

4. The regulations of pars. 1-3 do not violate the competence of the organs of government and state administration that are designated in the laws.

## Chapter 5

### Penal Regulations

Article 27. 1. He who:

- 1) violates the instituted limitations on freedom of movement,
  - 2) changes residence without the required permission or contrary to its conditions,
  - 3) does not vacate an area or arrives in or passes through a prohibited area, is subject to arrest or fine.
2. A worker who quits his job as a result of a refusal to consent to terminating a labor relationship by the workplace director is subject to a fine.
3. He who, in acting in the name of a workplace, enters a labor relationship without becoming cognizant beforehand with the contents of the work report presented by the last workplace employing the worker being accepted for work or awards him a basic pay that is greater than the minimum pay specified for the worker's given position at which the previous employer terminated the work relationship without notice because of the worker's fault or who quit the job at the previous workplace, is subject to a fine.
4. He who, in acting in the name of a workplace, violates the regulations concerning the obligatory labor mediation or refuses to employ an individual sent to the workplace as a result of a labor mediation procedure, is subject to a fine.
5. He who violates instituted limitations on road, rail, air or inland waterway transportation, accepts goods for shipment that do not meet required conditions or violates the instituted limitations on the movement of objects sailing on inland sea lanes or in territorial seas is subject to arrest or fine.
6. He who participates in a strike or protest action is subject to arrest or fine.
7. He who is in a public place and does not have on his person identification documents is subject to a fine.
8. He who is a member of an association or other organization whose activities have been suspended and does not refrain from participating in such activities is subject to arrest or fine.
9. He who, in contravention of an instituted ban, takes photographs or films or televises is subject to a fine. A judgment can be obtained to forfeit the equipment that was used or was to be used to commit the offense, even though the equipment was not the property of the perpetrator.
10. Examining the offenses designated in pars. 1-9 proceeds in accordance with the regulations concerning procedures in matters concerning offenses.

11. One can waive the imposition of a penalty if the perpetrator of the act designated in par. 6 or 8 freely withdrew from participating in a strike or protest action or discontinued participation in a suspended activity.

12. If the appropriate disciplines of a state of emergency are instituted, that are designated in this law, then the regulations of pars. 1-9 apply to acts that violate these disciplines if at the same time the offensive act is no more than a misdemeanor.

Article 28. Arts. 256 and 257 of the Penal Code are also used for internment in isolation centers.

Article 29. 1. In a simplified proceeding mentioned in the regulations concerning criminal proceedings, the offenses designated in arts. 143, 144, 165 par. 1; arts. 233, 235, 256 par. 2; art. 257 par. 1; art. 271 par. 1; art. 275 par. 1; art. 280 par. 1; arts. 281, 282a, 284 par. 1; art. 286 and art. 287 of the Penal Code.

2. In a complicated matter, the organ conducting preliminary proceedings can withdraw from conducting matters in a simplified proceeding.

3. Article 30. 1. The summary proceeding mentioned in the regulations on criminal proceedings is also used in matters concerning offenses designated in the following regulations:

1) arts. 143, 144; art. 158 par. 1; art. 165 par. 1; art. 167 par. 1; art. 171 par. 1; art. 212 par. 1; art. 214 pars. 1 and 2; arts. 233, 256, 237, 256, 275 par. 1; art. 280 par. 1; arts. 281, 282, 282a par. 1; art. 284 and art. 285 of the Penal Code.

2) arts. 3-5; art. 6 par. 1 and art. 8 of the law of 22 April 1959 on combating the prohibited manufacture of spirits (DZIENNIK USTAW No 27, item 169);

3) art. 28 par. 1 of the law of 31 January 1961 concerning arms, ammunition and explosive materials (DZIENNIK USTAW No 6, item 43);

4) art. 91 par. 1 point 3 of the law of 31 May 1962--the Air Law (DZIENNIK USTAW No 32, item 153);

5) arts. 54 and 55 of the law of 10 April 1974 concerning the census and identity cards (DZIENNIK USTAW No 14, item 85);

6) art. 123 of the law of 24 October 1974--the Water Law (DZIENNIK USTAW No 3, item 6, and 1983 No 44, item 201);

7) arts. 41 and 42 of the law of 12 June 1975 concerning fire-fighting protection (DZIENNIK USTAW No 20, item 106);

8) art. 43 par. 1 of the law of 26 October 1982 concerning sobriety and combating alcoholism (DZIENNIK USTAW No 35, item 230);

even if they are not of a hooligan nature.

2. In a summary proceeding, the court can impose imprisonment of up to 2 years and in addition impose a fine that is twice as large as that designated in the appropriate regulations on criminal proceedings.

3. In a summary proceeding, if in the course of an examination it turns out that it will be necessary to conduct preliminary proceedings concerning a discontinued act, or if the court anticipates the possibility of meeting out a penalty in excess of that specified in par. 2, then the court sends the matter to the prosecutor; the court determines if temporary arrest or other protective measures are justified.

Article 31. 1. The penalties for offenses and misdemeanors that were legally imposed on the basis of the regulations of this law or the regulations concerning a state of emergency in other laws that were adjudged during specific proceedings mentioned in this law and that were not carried out in whole or in part up to the time the state of emergency is revoked, as well as the disciplines of the state of emergency that were not fulfilled, are subject to execution.

2. In cases where a state of emergency is revoked or the respective disciplines of a state of emergency are annulled, these regulations are still applicable and their imposed penalties are subject to execution in matters concerning the offenses and misdemeanors designated in this law or in the regulations concerning a state of emergency in other laws for which proceedings have been initiated and are still subject to a legally valid judgment of a final proceeding.

3. Matters concerning the offenses mentioned in this law which were no longer subject to a specific proceeding but remain unfinished up to the time a state of emergency is lifted are still pursued until a judgment is obtained in that same proceeding before the same cognizant organ, and the penalties imposed in these proceedings that are based on the regulations of this law are subject to execution.

## Chapter 6

### Changes in Obligatory Regulations, Final Regulations

Article 32. 1. Art. 1a of the law of 25 January 1982 concerning specific legal regulations in the realm of a state of emergency (DZIENNIK USTAW No 3, item 18 and No 41, item 272) is revoked.

2. Arts. 1-11, arts. 14 and 18 of the law of 18 December 1982 concerning specific legal regulations in the realm of suspending martial law (DZIENNIK USTAW No 41, item 273) are revoked.

Article 33. Wherever this law mentions governors, it should be understood that it also means the mayors of Warsaw, Krakow and Lodz.

Article 34. 1. The regulations of this law do not violate the regulations of the decree of 12 December 1981 concerning martial law (DZIENNIK USTAW

No 29, item 154, and 1982 No 3, item 18), which apply only to the martial law mentioned in art. 33 par. 2 of the Constitution of the Polish People's Republic.

2. Regulations of arts. 5 and 26 of this law also apply to martial law mentioned in par. 1.

Article 35. The regulations of this law and the acts issued on the basis of this law are applicable during the obligatory period of a state of emergency in the territory in which this state of emergency has been instituted, subject to the reservation of the regulation of art. 7 par. 2 of this law.

Article 36. The law becomes effective on the day it is announced.

Signed H. Jablonski, chairman of the Council of Ministers  
J. Szymanek, Secretary of the Council of Ministers

11899  
CSO: 2600/547

POLAND

DAILY DEFENDS MILITIA AGAINST BRUTALITY CHARGES

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 3-4 Dec 83 p 8

[Article by NL: "Facts and Slanderous Rumors of the 'Initiated'"]

[Text] The inquiry regarding the tragic death of Grzegorz Przemyk is coming to an end. Doubtlessly, the court trial will soon begin and it may be hoped that we will learn the whole truth about the course and the circumstances of this tragic event. Not everybody is satisfied with such prospects, though. In particular, it does not suit the notorious cynical political gamblers.

The disturbed persons are especially those who, on the basis of their own pieces of information and allegations known only to them, have long since given their verdict in this case. Almost the day after the death of the Warsaw high school graduate some people knew not only who killed him but also how and under what circumstances, and even why, and suggested that it was an act of revenge for his mother's political activity. With great haste and by every possible means, they were spreading "incontrovertible" facts and opinions aimed at provoking social indignation and protest directed against the authorities, and especially the security forces. Unfortunately, it was often effective. Still, it was known from the very beginning that the arrest of Grzegorz Przemyk by the militia on Plac Zamkowy in downtown Warsaw in broad daylight was motivated. He was incompletely dressed, in torn up trousers, without shoes and socks and his feet were exceptionally dirty. As his companions claim, before going out for a walk the four of them, including the 19-year-old Grzegorz Przemyk, had drunk several bottles of wine. Przemyk was carried piggy-back. Both he and the one who carried him were falling down and rolling on the ground.

Today, toward the close of the strenuous, more than half-year long inquiry, some indisputable facts pitilessly reveal the true intentions of the authors of this, to put it bluntly, purely political campaign, preying on the awful tragedy of the young man.

In a dramatic letter addressed to a wide public, a certain Warsaw poet, while describing the story of Grzegorz Przemyk, informs us that "witnesses heard his animal-like howl from behind the wall." The letter, full of such expressions as "mercilessly beaten," "butchered," "murdered" (by the militiamen, of course), was written on 16 May--2 days after Przemyk's death!

A logical question comes to mind; how did the author of the letter know the details of the event at a time when the witnesses he cites had not yet been questioned? Did he get them from those persons who, for a week and often even longer, were simply sought after and asked to report to the public prosecutor's office to give testimony?

Should one not ponder why the witnesses were hiding? Perhaps they were hiding in accordance with somebody's instructions. Perhaps those who "instructed" them to do so were waiting for an autopsy in order to be able to direct the testimony of some of the witnesses toward matters of where and how Przemyk was beaten. It is well known today that there was no "butchery" since there was no wall, Przemyk's fight with the militiamen having taken place in a corridor at the militia station in the immediate presence of several people, including his companion, now the star witness for the prosecution, who voluntarily, with no objections on the part of the escorting militiamen, accompanied Grzegorz Przemyk from the moment of his arrest until he was taken from the militia station by the emergency ambulance crew.

Were the militiamen, who, as they are accused in the rumor, plotted in advance if not to murder then at least to beat Grzegorz Przemyk for his mother's political activity, so naive as to take with them the star and only witness for the prosecution? Will these persons confirm in court the dramatized story about "howling from behind the wall," "merciless beating," and "butchery" in this situation? And, if not, if the facts are different from those cited in letters and poems, what will they do then, this poet and a certain man of letters from Krakow, the author of a similar letter? Will they have courage to publish a denial?

The poetic letter goes around from hand to hand, recently even more often, as if somebody has seen to it that a greater number of copies reach a wider public. The same has happened to another document dated 12 May--3 days after Przemyk's death. This document, entitled "A Note on the Circumstances of Grzegorz Przemyk's Death" and signed by "The Primate's Committee to Help Imprisoned Persons and Their Families," gives the impression of an objective account. In spite of the fact that it does not have any descriptions of "animal-like howling" and "butchery," this impression is very deceptive.

The note includes a detailed description of the circumstances of the incident and of Przemyk's death (again, a question arises--from where on the basis of what?) and cites a wide array of allegations which today can be safely branded as rank lies. In particular, it is a lie that Przemyk was "carried" to the emergency ambulance and that on the way to the emergency station he was escorted by the militiamen, and so is the claim that the inquiry was instituted after the public prosecutor's office had been notified by the hospital about Grzegorz Przemyk's death. Here a question arises as to why the hospital, where Grzegorz Przemyk had undergone a surgery and died, did not immediately notify the public prosecutor's office about an unexpected death, which it was obliged to do and which it usually does as a matter of routine, but did so only after the inquiry had already been in progress?

The inquiry in this case was instituted on the suggestion of the Warsaw Militia Headquarters on the basis of a report about the event by the militia. Since militiamen were accused of having been involved the whole case was transferred for an exclusive investigation by the public prosecutor's office. Everything has by now been settled beyond a shred of doubt, and yet the false and slanderous "note" is still being distributed among the "initiated."

The fact that the inquiry comes to an end apparently irritates Radio Free Europe. All of the facts were already determined long ago, and the guilty persons were jailed. A half year is long enough to bring to completion an inquiry of even the most complicated case. The circumstances of Grzegorz Przemyk's death were known a few days after the tragedy--the commentator from Munich was irritated in a broadcast on 15 November of this year. This haste is strangely familiar and it strangely dovetails with the voices of the political opposition in the country. The commentator of Radio Free Europe evidently decided that even the letter of the Polish poet was too mild in its choice of dramatic expression and cited only some fragments from it, while adding on his own: "From the District Militia Headquarters (a product of the pathological and fertile imagination of Radio Free Europe, which knows that there is no such headquarters in Warsaw's Old Town) Grzegorz Przemyk was carried to the emergency ambulance on a stretcher. He was already half-conscious with pain, moaning and shouting, beating his head against the stretcher in a state of agony." This is not only a lie. It is an exceptional cynicism intended for absolutely foolish and naive listeners. After all, from the very beginning there was no doubt that Przemyk had left the militia station unaided, and in spite of his strange behavior he did not, according to the emergency ambulance crew, give the impression of being a victim. Neither Grzegorz Przemyk nor his companion, the "star" witness for the prosecution, made a complaint against the militiamen after the special emergency ambulance had come to take Przemyk, who looked like he was drunk or under the influence of drugs.

In the ambulance and later at the emergency station Grzegorz Przeyk behaved very aggressively. A medic and a stalwart driver who knows karate could not handle him, and they were forced to move to the left side of the road (risking an accident), stop the ambulance and use physical force; this was entered in the order book of the emergency ambulance. It must have been a serious incident because, as we know from, inter alia, the statements of a Warsaw emergency ambulance doctor that were published in POLITYKA of 11 November 1983, minor incidents such as, e.g., slapping a patient in the face, necessary to calm him down, are not noted down at all.

It may quite easily be predicted that the propaganda tumult around Grzegorz Przemyk's case will gain strength again as the date of the court trial comes closer. After all, its results may turn out to be unfavorable for those persons who have already done quite good political business out of the Warsaw high school school graduate's tragedy.

From the beginning, the authorities were of the opinion, and they expressed it publicly, that the case should be subject to a detailed objective inquiry and that those guilty of Grzegorz Przemyk's death should be punished regardless of who they are.

FORMER TRADE UNION PROPERTY DISTRIBUTED

Warsaw DZIENNIK USTAW in Polish No 60, 17 Nov 83 p 793

[Decree of the Council of Ministers on Principles and Procedure for Partial Distribution of Property of Former Trade Unions of 24 October 1983]

[Text] On the basis of article 54, paragraph 2 of the law on trade unions of 8 October 1982 [DZIENNIK USTAW No 32, 1982, item 216, and No 39, 1983, item 176] the following is ordered:

¶ 1.1. Financial resources which are a part of the property of former trade unions made up of employees employed in the same field, category of employment, or profession may be partially turned over to national trade union organizations, established in accordance with the decree of the Council of State on the principles and procedures to establish national trade union organizations of 12 April 1983 [DZIENNIK USTAW No 21, item 92], and active in these fields, categories of employment, or professions.

2. The turned-over financial resources are to be included in the accounting for the final distribution of the property, defined in paragraph 1, after establishing the principles and procedure of its distribution.

3. Property (including financial resources) of the former trade unions active in government offices which remains at the disposal of office organizations of those trade unions may be turned over to the employees' representatives, defined in articles 40 and 41 of the law on employees of government agencies of 16 September 1982 [DZIENNIK USTAW No 31, item 214], at the request of the organs of such representatives.

¶ 2.1. Decisions with regard to distribution of financial resources are made by the minister for cooperation with trade unions at the request of a national trade union organization.

2. Request for turning over a part of financial resources must be supported by description of aims for which they will be used.

3. Specific regulations with regard to requests for turning over financial resources will be drafted by the minister for cooperation with trade unions in consultation with the minister of finance.

¶ 3. Distribution of financial resources based on decision in accordance with Paragraph 2 will be executed by the Commission for Administration of Trade Unions Property, established as a result of the decree of the Council of Ministers of 15 October 1982 on temporary administration of the former trade unions' property [DZIENNIK USTAW No 34, item 226].

¶ 4. Regulations of this instant decree do not violate the regulations of the decree of the Council of Ministers on the principles and procedures for distribution of the property of the former enterprise trade unions of 27 December 1982 [DZIENNIK USTAW No 1, 1983, item 1].

¶ 5. This decree goes into effect on the day of its announcement.

[Signed] J. Obodowski, chairman, Council of Ministers (in absentia)

8609  
CSO: 2600/548

ROMANIA

ROUNDTABLE ON SOCIAL RELATIONS, STRUCTURES

Bucharest ERA SOCIALISTA in Romanian No 19, 10 Oct 83; No 20, 25 Oct 83

/Discussion by Prof Dr Rodica Cepareanu, Prof Dr Liviu Coptil, Dr Alecu Floares, Reader Dr Tudor Ghideanu, Prof Dr Ionel Hagi, Prof Dr Constantin Gheorghe Marinescu, Prof Dr Petre Malcomete, Reader Dr Elena Puha, Prof Dr Nicolae Stoica and Prof Dr Mihai Todosia, recorded by Liviu Melinte/

/No 19, 10 Oct 83 pp 22-25/

Text/ The new stage of Romania's development calls for a thorough and specific analysis of the problems of socialist construction such that the formulated conclusions will be an aid to the practical effort toward qualitative improvement of all aspects of society. This policy of constant renovation of the conceptual system and analysis of the socioeconomic facts promoted in the ideological activity of the CPR and its secretary general Nicolae Ceausescu ensures the viability of the historical and dialectical-materialist conception, the theory of scientific socialism, and the performance of the latter's function as a true theoretical weapon for world reform.

On the basis of the principles of inestimable theoretical and practical value comprised in Nicolae Ceausescu's speech at the Mangalia Conference on Problems of Organizational and Political-Educational Work in August 1983, and in order to encourage a free exchange of ideas and study of Romanian society in its constant evolution for purposes of theoretical generalization and discovery of viable solutions to the problems of socialist construction in keeping with the ideals of the new order, the editors of ERA SOCIALISTA have arranged, jointly with the CPR Iasi County Committee, a discussion of the subject of "Evolution of the Social Structures and Relations in the Present Stage of Romania's Development" as a fundamental one with characteristics that ultimately affect all society.

ALECU FLOARES: In view of the major importance of the subject matter and the main theories, principles and courses of action to improve social relations, I think our discussion should cover a few main considerations, as follows:

1. The existing conceptual system for analyzing the social production relations, the factors that determine their evolution, and especially their tendency to lag

behind the level and development of the productive forces. The contribution of the party and state measures taken to eliminate the disturbing factors in the relationships of the productive forces and production relations must be emphasized here, as well as the actions we consider necessary to improve social relations in the present stage, wherein not only strong quantitative gains but extensive qualitative changes especially will be made.

2. These problems must be approached from the systemic viewpoint promoted by the party secretary general in his analysis of the social facts. This means that social relations in general and production relations in particular are to be improved in connection with the qualitative changes in society as a whole, the economy, politics, the superstructure, culture etc.

3. In analyzing the production relations we must specially emphasize the changes in the relations of ownership, since socialist ownership predominates in Romania in its two forms of ownership of the entire people and cooperative ownership. The trend to be seen in the relations between these two main forms must be evaluated, and it would be useful to suggest some measures to secure their further improvement.

4. Steps have been taken in recent years to enhance the incentive and sense of responsibility for development of property, such as the efforts to improve the economic-financial mechanism, workers self-management and self-administration and to further the workers' participation in formation of the social funds, conclusion of pledge-contracts, and consistent application of the principle of remuneration according to quantity, quality and social importance of work. We also have in mind the measures taken in the spirit of the program approved by the National Party Conference in December 1982. In view of the results obtained we feel it would be useful to consider what actions can further enhance every worker's sense of initiative, responsibility and commitment to development of the productive forces and regular growth of labor productivity and economic effectiveness.

Those are the few main subjects I am proposing for our discussion.

As indications of the vital importance of those ideas, I would mention the economic changes in Romania and the attainment of a large volume of investments that have rapidly increased the number of new jobs in the nonagricultural sectors. That process has naturally affected the social structures. The working class has grown from 1.2 million in 1950 to more than 6 million at present, and it is becoming the leading force in Romanian socialist society in that respect too. The proportion of the peasantry in the employed population has shrunk from 74.3 percent in 1950 to about 28 percent at present, but it has grown continuously in social importance. The intelligentsia have shown gains due to the rise of urban and rural workers' sons to culture.

Thanks to the development and polytechnical quality of Romanian schools, the educational stock (per capita number of years of schooling) has increased by about 4 times. We do not share the opinion expressed by the writer Mihnea Gheorghiu in an essay published recently in CONTEMPORANUL to the effect that we have become a nation of intellectuals, including all high school graduates in that category, but the intelligentsia have undergone extensive qualitative

changes. Their status, as well as those of the working class and the peasantry, has assimilated significant changes. What, in brief, are those changes?

The allocation of the productive forces in all areas of Romania is giving rise to an economic leveling process that is affecting the occupational and class structure of Romanian society. These changes are taking place in every area, including Iasi County. The analyses made by the research collective in order to prepare an optimal model of the Iasi area's socioeconomic development reveal certain characteristics of the evolution of the social structures.

We believe we can distinguish two different periods in the evolution of the productive forces and the regional evolution of the social structures, one extensive and one intensive.

The extensive period, localized in time toward the end of the 1960's, was characterized by a rapid increase in the number of jobs in the nonagricultural sectors (from 43,000 in 1950 to 217,000 in 1982), causing an intensive mobility of the population from the villages to the cities and from the peasantry to the working class and the intelligentsia. This mobility included over 50 percent of the county's population. This period was also marked by certain characteristics, was subject to certain laws, and had particular social and cultural implications.

The intensive period, inaugurated at the end of the last decade and the beginning of the present one, is characterized not only by a growing number of jobs but especially by gains in the technical inventory of labor, in the intellectual workload, and consequently in labor productivity. Stability, responsibility and interest in the fate of the factory are characteristic of this period as contrasted with the previous one, dominated by rather high instability and certain effects of "uprooting." The present qualitatively new situation compared with that of a decade ago is clearly in the nature of a stage and should be treated according to the standards that determine it.

Some questions arise in connection with these processes and phenomena. Are these elements peculiar to areas or can they be extrapolated on the level of the whole country? Are the laws that govern the progress of these phenomena and processes purely national or do they have distinctive features in their regional operation and what are they? Do the contradictions perceived on the national level have specific regional manifestations or not? If so, what forms do they take?

Of course it would be a mistake to make the discussion a provincial or regional one. It must retain its national character, as it was planned and prepared. But I think clarification of these points would make it more specific and vital and especially more interesting to the specialists in the other counties. And it would also meet the requirements of practice and the decision-makers.

TUDOR GHIDEANU: I welcome the suggestion to proceed from a few conceptual specifications. For example, when we speak of labor relations we usually mean the workers collective and the role of ownership (which are controlling factors), the production methods, and the relations of remuneration. To be sure that is our starting point, but we must not reduce labor relations to relations of ownership.

I would approach the problem of labor relations first from the standpoint of their important place in the CPR documents and their close connection with the subject of contradictions, the development of the productive forces and production relations, the question of remuneration and forms of distribution, etc. In the second place, we cannot ignore the lag of agriculture behind industry, which is a national problem that has been and shall be made a patriotic cause of the entire people in order to bring it up to the level of industrial development. I would not operate with the general concept of "leveling" but with that of "harmonizing," because it is primarily a matter of seeking solutions to correlate the forms of development in one sector with those in another economic sector and the interests dependent on the diversity of the social and occupational structures.

I also call your attention to the complexity of the concept of "social relations" with which we are operating. There are economic relations based on the structure of communities, and then there are political, family, legal, aesthetic, ethical and individual relations. There is a whole fabric of relations whose improvement requires special decisions for each one in the present stage.

Social relations are not only those between the working class and the peasantry and between the peasantry and the intelligentsia, but also the relations between production, research and education, family relations in the contemporary village or relations among the workers of an enterprise, those between generations, etc. It is the various ways in which the constructive enthusiasms and options of the community are harmonized with the individuals' purposes and ideals in a nationwide process that are important today.

CONSTANTIN GHEORGHE MARINESCU: In the first place, we should be operating with some clear concepts, which we do not yet have. The social-political literature has not yet developed any concept of a social class that reflects the nature of Romanian socialist society. Of course we must begin with Lenin's definition, but let us not ignore the fact that it refers to societies with antagonistic classes based on private property. Moreover even the Leninist concept can be perfected or theoretically improved, especially in view of the changes that have taken place in the structures of contemporary capitalism.

Therefore I think this definition of the classes particularly requires adjustment to the facts of socialist society. Consideration must be given to all the factors that determine not only some differences and distinctive *sui generis* features of every class but also some traits in common and elements of identity of interests and aspirations on all social levels. But I stress the point that in addition to the economic criteria, which are ultimately controlling in the formation and definition of the classes, we must also consider other features such as those of psychology, morality, ideology and the social role and contribution dependent upon the social division of labor.

I feel we have an adequate and effective concept of the unified working people of communist society, and for that very reason I think we must necessarily develop a Romanian concept of a social class that would permit sound interpretation and observation of social mobility in Romania. In fact Nicolae Ceausescu pointed out the urgent necessity of theoretical exploitation of Romanian experience acquired in the historical process of reforming the old social and class

structure, liquidating the exploiting classes, forming and developing the new classes identified with the destinies of socialism, purposefully promoting relations of full equality, collaboration and mutual aid, and constantly consolidating the worker-peasant alliance.

NICOLAE STOICA: Relations of ownership, which are evolving in close connection with the changes not only in the nature of ownership but also in the superstructure and in the workers' level of awareness, have a primary place and role in the definition of production relations as the innermost nucleus of social relations. Relations of ownership must be a central point of the discussions because if we do not keep referring to ownership it means that we are not holding a fertile discussion. Moreover the progress of production relations begins with ownership, which is the substance of production relations. Development of production relations must first involve development of socialist ownership.

MIHAI TODOSIA: I agree entirely with what Comrade Stoica says, especially since Romanian socialist ownership has its well-known origin in certain specific historical and political circumstances. It has been said for a long time that socialist ownership can take only this twofold state and cooperative form. And for a long time state socialist ownership has not been adequately clarified in theory, and the relationship between it and the enterprise or between the individual and the state has not been fully explained. But these questions are of great practical importance. What is the enterprise in relation to socialist ownership? What is its position in this respect? Is its role merely that of technical-operational administration of a portion of the national wealth? Such an explanation is satisfactory neither economically nor politically. On the basis of such imperfections the defamers of socialism regard socialist ownership as belonging to a state bureaucracy that alone has the right of decision and disposition.

Getting to the heart of this problem, Nicolae Ceausescu said that the situation is entirely otherwise. As the basic socioeconomic organism of the national economy, the enterprise has the right of disposition over a portion of the nation's property, and by its decisions it increases or diminishes the national wealth. That is not merely a technical-operational administration. The enterprise's decision is the same as that of any owner in possession. The party secretary general expressed a quite original view of every worker's relationship to the enterprise where he works, namely the workers' threefold capacity as owners, producers and beneficiaries. The workers' capacity as co-owners was reinforced by the measures enacted this year for workers' participation with shares in the formation of the enterprise's fixed capital.

In our opinion, socialist ownership is compatible with a great many forms with which it can be combined in various ways. Romania intends to make a number of changes, modernizations and improvements in industry and agriculture, and all those changes will be reflected in the forms of ownership.

In support of the foregoing it should be noted that socialism does not mean big enterprises alone but a host of small enterprises rationally distributed throughout the country to meet the constantly growing and diversified needs of the national economy and the public. For example, we must not remain prisoners of dogmatic ideas that the existence of individual artisans producing for local needs unquestionably generates capitalism and threatens socialism.

NICOLAE STOICA: It is true, as it has already been pointed out in our discussion, that the socialist ownership relations established years ago are basic to the great progress Romania has made. As Marx put it, advanced production relations are the true Prometheus that released the development of the productive forces. Socialism made intensive development of the productive forces possible in Romania. But if economic progress is to continue at rapid rates production relations must also be improved.

The ways in which socialist ownership is to be improved are an essential problem constantly stressed by the CPR. For a long time the social-political and economic literature has emphasized the intensified socialization of production and labor, and of course that has been and is an aspect of development of ownership: Intensified concentration and centralization of production are accompanied by greater socialization of ownership. But I think concentration and centralization have been carried beyond the optimal point at times, to the detriment of efficiency and productivity. Moreover economic research is now asked to find solutions to the problem of rationalizing the size of the enterprise, which would greatly benefit society.

There are a great many directions in which ownership relations can be developed. Use of the potential of the two forms of ownership, improvement of the legal and social structures, etc. can create a variety of organizational forms of ownership and new socialist ownership relations, as Comrade Todosia quite rightly said. Socialist social ownership of enterprises, created by contributions in the form of workers' shares, is an illustrative example of this. Theoretically the idea of multiplying the forms of socialist ownership is in full accord with the principles of dialectics. There can be no progress if the social structures are treated in an inflexible manner that permits no change in form of ownership.

MIHAI TODOSIA: Precisely in this connection, the question of the rate of socialist changes arises. It is my impression that in some cases and in some periods this rate has exceeded the organizational abilities of the unit managements and even those of the central and local state organs. Of course the rate of socialist social changes also depends on the world economic situation and the international and internal conditions at the time they take place.

NICOLAE STOICA: The measures adopted by the party and state to improve legislation on ownership relations are highly important. But some of the legal regulations fall far short of reflecting the requirements of the actual socioeconomic process. The legal and administrative framework should be expanded to guarantee the workers their capacity as owners, to make them accordingly aware of that capacity, and to encourage them to conserve and develop social property. This will foster the feeling that their own livelihood and property depend on the progress and prosperity of the units, the economic enterprises. A greater educational effort should be made within the enterprises to develop group solidarity, pride in the factory's trademark, etc.

Socialist ownership also includes and requires all Romanian citizens' right to work. Exercise of that right is one of the major attributes of the capacity as owner. The right to work is not a gift of the state but originates in the nature of socialist ownership, but the latter excludes the possibility of idle persons or groups. That point has been continually stressed by Nicolae Ceausescu.

At this point I would like to mention that development of property is inseparable from the existence and development of group interests. Development of group solidarity is very important for stimulating economic and social activity. In general the interests of development of the entire people's property are less clear because the concept of "the entire people's social property" is a complex and more abstract one that is more difficult to perceive. Development of group interests is also closely related to assignment of the property to a given collective. Legislation was enacted recently that I consider more suitable because it entrusts to the workers collectives the property given over to the enterprises for administration.

PETRE MALCOMETE: I should like to mention another component of production relations, namely distribution. As we know, in the course of improving production relations the party and state are specially emphasizing relations of distribution alongside those of ownership. The subject of our discussion does not call for any highly detailed analysis of the features that are improvements in the forms and mechanism of the remuneration system in the present stage. Therefore I shall mention some principles and features that characterize the improvement in the remuneration system, as they follow especially from the recent documents on the subject that were approved by the party and state.

The measures to improve the remuneration system are based on the idea that it is a part of the mechanism of the socialist economy along with the financial system, the price system and the other components of the economic mechanism. Therefore the remuneration system has to reflect the general principles of the economic mechanism as well as possible. The institution of the principles of workers self-management and economic-financial self-administration in the economic mechanism in the present stage also made it necessary to improve the system in order to correlate workers' incomes as directly as possible with the quantitative and qualitative results of the work performed. Since every unit's entire property actually passes into the ownership of the workers collective, through self-management and self-administration, the workers' threefold capacity is consolidated economically and legally, meaning that they have not only further rights but also greater obligations in regard to the unit's property.

The objective economic law of distribution according to work and application of the socialist principle of distribution on the basis of it are ultimately reflections of the socialist order. In accordance with the action of that law socialist distribution excludes egalitarianism from the remuneration system because it has nothing in common with socialist equality, which means equal liberation of all from exploitation, the equal obligation of all to work to capacity, and the equal right to draw upon the individual consumption fund in proportion to the work performed and the results obtained.

To be sure the law of distribution according to work was applied before in the Romanian remuneration system, but not consistently enough in all cases, as the party documents indicate. As Nicolae Ceausescu said, remuneration according to work does not mean mere presence on the job and observance of the work schedule but effective work materialized in its results.

The greater importance of the material incentive also follows from the recommendations concerning a better correlation of the fixed and variable parts of the

wage. Moreover the qualitative elements increase in importance with application of the measures to improve the remuneration system because fulfillment of such tasks as product quality, net output and physical production is also taken into consideration.

Distribution according to work is taken into consideration in the party's economic policy not in isolation but in connection with the whole system of economic laws operating in Romanian society. Accordingly an important part is played by correlation of the law of distribution according to work with the law of labor productivity growth, which correlation requires a faster growth of labor productivity than that of the average net wage. Strict observance of that correlation, strongly emphasized in the measures to improve the remuneration system, is required in the highest degree by the laws of expanded reproduction of accumulation. The differential between growth of labor productivity and that of the wage secures the sources of national economic development which, as we know, is basic to improvement of the living standard.

And finally a few words about the methods of payment of wages. The party and state documents state that the overall contract system is the form of organization and remuneration of labor that is best suited to the conception upon which improvement of the remuneration system is based. That system provides the greatest incentive to the workers collectives' efforts on behalf of both the quantitative and especially the qualitative aspects of production. The overall contract system ensures the units' conformity to the qualitative standards of the activity, that is the regulation inputs of raw materials, materials, fuels and energy, the standards of product quality, renovation and modernization of the products, implementation of exports, etc.

IONEL HAGIU: Now that we have discussed some aspects of improvement of production relations, I think we can go on to discuss some questions of evolution of the social structure.

The increasingly intensive development of the role of the working class as the leading class of society is an essential characteristic of Romania's social and political evolution in the present stage. The leadership of the working class reflects an objective law and an essential requirement of successful construction of the fully developed socialist society. This law operates in close correlation with the radical quantitative and qualitative changes in all social activities.

Analysis of the revolutionary changes that have been taking place in Romania necessarily requires investigation of the changes on the level of the social structure of society and the many and complex aspects of its evolution, since working class leadership is developing more and more intensively and operates on a higher qualitative level against the background of the changes and in close connection with the roles of the other social classes and categories. It is also necessary to analyze the changes in the working class that directly contribute to its advance as the leading class. From this standpoint we find that the growing numbers and proportion of this class in the active population, making it the majority class in socialist Romania, is a predominant trend resulting from the party policy of national industrialization with development and modernization of the productive forces. The proportion of the working class in the total

employed population increased from 13.7 percent in 1948 to more than 57.8 percent in 1981, and that in the working personnel structure increased from 67 to 80.3 percent. The working class has become numerically the strongest class in Romanian society. By 1990 it will come to about two-thirds of the employed population.

The party and state policy of development and rational allocation of the productive forces throughout the country has made corresponding changes in the distribution of the working class among the counties. Whereas in 1938 over 70 percent of the working class was concentrated in eight workers centers, it is now in the majority of the total active population of more than 20 counties, to say nothing of the very far-reaching qualitative changes with important implications for the development of the role of the working class.

While in the first stages of socialist construction the peasantry, with its low level of training, was the main source of recruits for the working class, in the present stage the new contingents of workers are coming chiefly from the ranks of youth, with a high standard of culture and training such that they are called a new "wave" of the working class. Moreover the proportion of women in this class has increased to about 40 percent, and over 80 percent in some sectors. New detachments of the working class have appeared, graphically illustrating the growing proportion of intellectual work in productive activity and the attainment of one of the major aims of the social leveling process going on in Romania, namely the gradual elimination of the essential differences between physical and intellectual work.

In some opinions the quantitative growth of the working class will slow down during the present stage, but there will be important changes in its level of occupational and general cultural instruction, in the kind of work it does, and in its class awareness and degree of participation in social management.

LIVIU COPTIL: I shall discuss the evolution of the rural social structure. We know that throughout the years of socialism radical changes have occurred in the economic, social and intellectual structures of the contemporary Romanian village. The peasantry have become a new and homogenous class, owning their production means and the fruits of their labor and permanently linking their existence with socialism and modern large-scale production. This class is basing its existence upon socialist ownership, work in common, socialist principles of organization and remuneration, and relations of collaboration and mutual aid.

Cooperative democracy was intensively developed by institutionalizing the general assembly of cooperative members. The county unions and the National Union of Agricultural Cooperatives, the intercooperative associations and the uniform agroindustrial councils form the organizational structure for involving the peasantry in management of agriculture and of all sectors of activity.

Institutionalizing the Congress of Management Councils of Socialist Agricultural Units and of the peasantry as a whole as the highest forum of agricultural management, with important functions in discussion of questions of party and state agrarian policy, was also vital to the development of cooperative democracy.

Thanks to the organizational structure created as well as the whole party and state agrarian policy, the peasantry are helping to solve all major problems of the nation, the localities and the local party and state organs.

MIHAI TODOSIA: In connection with what Comrade Coptil has said it should be noted that what we call the peasantry today is no longer the social class it used to be. It has undergone great quantitative, qualitative and structural changes as well as great changes in its level of training, instruction and culture. I think scientific research will have to study the evolution of the peasantry in the nearly four decades since the liberation from the most varied viewpoints.

Until the Ninth Party Congress, as a matter of fact, the peasantry's role was often minimized. It is to Nicolae Ceausescu's credit that he pointed out the peasantry's place in the history of the Romanian people and its contribution to socialist construction in Romania. The peasantry was always in the majority of the population, and it preserved the Romanian people's national existence, language, dress and traditional customs. It made the greatest sacrifices of blood in the battle for national and social emancipation and created Romanian folk culture, the inexhaustible source of all intellectual creativeness. And in the years of socialist construction the peasantry made a major contribution to the effort toward industrialization and structural modernization of the Romanian national economy, and it was the main source of manpower for all activities. Consequently it was more than an ally, as it was regarded.

Since agriculture is a main sector of the national economy and in view of the diversity of the crops and the use structure of the land, a large part of the active population will have to remain in agriculture. Romanian scientific research must make the effort to find the best ways of fostering the peasant's love for this occupation and effective measures to encourage him to work in agriculture. To this end I think a wide variety of artisan and cottage activities exploiting local resources and supplementing villagers' incomes should be used to "keep" them in the villages. In my opinion scientific study of questions of material incentive for development of these rural activities is lagging and is an obligation of the party and society.

Furthermore, rural democracy should be further emphasized in Romanian village life. It must be fostered, encouraged and respected. The peasant has synthesized within him millennia of experience. He is suspicious because he has been cheated and swindled throughout history. I feel that today much more attention must be paid to him and his complex problems, in the spirit of Romanian socialist standards. A wide variety of possible measures will have to be analyzed to foster in peasants the feeling that they are linked to their country's land and are actually its owners. To this end, the directions and tasks outlined by the party secretary general must be correctly implemented, abuses of any kind must be avoided, and thefts of their common public property must be severely penalized, especially since it is well known that the agricultural cooperatives and private farms play a vital part in supplying the public with a number of basic food products.

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/Text/ LIVIU COPTIL: While I agree with what Comrade Todosia said, I should like to point out that the cooperative peasantry's new living and working conditions have changed their awareness and have generated and strengthened such new moral-political traits as the spirit of work in common, collaboration and mutual aid; a new attitude toward work and public property; the combination of

individual interests with those of the community and the general interests; and greater confidence in man's ability to master and transform nature and to take from the soil its richest possible fruits -- all basic elements of the Romanian people's unity of spirit.

The changes that have been taking place necessitate some new administrative methods and the formation of strong agroindustrial centers with much broader functions and potentials that can be equipped with technical, municipal and service facilities and will unite the economic and artisan units for serving the public that will expedite the process of equalizing the cities and villages. So far 200 rural localities have become agroindustrial centers, including some communes wherein the flame of the peasant uprising burned in 1907.

The progress made in agriculture, as well as in the whole task of socialist construction, bears out once again the correctness of the CPR's Marxist policy and of Nicolae Ceausescu's theoretical and practical work reflecting creative application of the general truths of the working-class revolutionary doctrine to Romania's particular conditions and combining the efforts of all workers regardless of nationality in a single whole on behalf of the nation's further progress. The people's unity is almost entirely based upon the cohesion and strength of the worker-peasant alliance as the granite foundation of Romania's socialist order.

This unity of socialist Romania's two main social forces plays a decisive part in securing national progress on the path of fully developed socialism. As the party secretary general pointed out in his speech at the Expanded Plenum of the CPR Central Committee in June 1982, "In the long-range view it can be seen that the working class and the peasantry will remain the two main classes of Romanian society. Although the proportion of the working class in the employed population will still increase and that of the peasantry will still decline, it is probable that the peasantry will still be at least 20 percent of the employed population in 1990."

RODICA CEPAREANU: To return to an idea in the comment at the start of our discussion, I should like to point out that the period of unprecedented dynamism inaugurated by the Ninth CPR Congress also brought qualitative changes in the place and role of the intelligentsia. As it says in the CPR documents, the intelligentsia is the third leading force in Romanian society and has a particularly important place in all material and cultural production. This social category's position in the class structure is objectively determined by the interdependence of all aspects of social existence. Development of the material base of the new order, improved organization and management of all socioeconomic activity, the growing role of science, education and indoctrination in training specialists for all activities etc. enhance the importance of the intelligentsia as well as its role in society. Equal in rights to the other social classes and categories of the Romanian socialist order, the intelligentsia is also an owner of the production means, plays an active and effective part in creation of the material and cultural values, and participates with shares in formation of the enterprises' fixed capital.

The sons of the urban and rural workers are the source of this social category's development, and it is inherently linked with them. The absence of barriers to

mobility from one social class or category to another in socialist society makes it possible for young workers, peasants and other social categories to use their abilities in all fields of science, art, literature etc. In the course of socialist revolution and construction, the categories of intellectuals, especially the technical ones, have been recruited directly from the ranks of the working class through an extensive scholarship system, and they are still being recruited today.

In the process of socialist construction relations between the old and the new intelligentsia are also changing. The internal structures are becoming increasingly uniform. Since most Romanian intellectuals took part in the working class' revolutionary battle for political power and the new social order, a close tie between the old and new generations of intellectuals is being formed in the course of socialist development, without absolutizing or ignoring the inherent contradictions.

Assimilation of the revolutionary conception of the working class has helped to consolidate the latter's unity with the other social classes and categories and to form a close alliance with them under the leadership of the working class and the CPR.

Optimal conditions were created in the years of socialist construction to augment both the numbers of the intelligentsia and its role in society. The role of the schools in forming the new intelligentsia gained especially, both in the greater number of schools to meet the social requirements and, particularly since 1970, in the higher quality of training of scientists, artists and scholars in the most varied fields. Integration of education with production and scientific research and with social-political practice has led to increasingly close coordination of the schools with experience and the requirements for building the new order. The numbers of institutes of higher education, faculties, students and teachers have all increased.

The scientists and researchers make up an important detachment of the intelligentsia. Under the present conditions of the stage of socialist construction use of the capacity for creative scientific work is becoming primarily important and 50 percent more funds are allocated for technological research and development in this five-year plan than in the last one. The necessary conditions for extensive development of the literary and artistic output and of the national culture have been provided for.

While opposing elitist and individualist trends, the party and state highly value the activity of scholars and artists and their contributions to development of the masses' socialist awareness and to the all-around formation of the personality.

In the light of the problems discussed and emphasized by Nicolae Ceausescu at the Mangalia Working Conference on Questions of Organizational and Political-Educational Work, the intellectuals have huge tasks to perform in all fields of activity. The facts on the numerical growth of the intelligentsia and of the investments in development of the material base of education and science are significant in themselves, but it should also be pointed out that actually it is only its effectiveness and its involvement in solving the great problems confronting it that justify the investments made.

Although every intellectual should be a potential creator of culture, the social status of the intellectual and that of the creator are not identical.

MIHAI TODOSIA: Nevertheless learning should be a characteristic of the intellectual.

RODICA CEPAREANU: Anyone who furthers science must also be learned. But the value of learning can also be judged by its social effectiveness.

CONSTANTIN GHEORGHE MARINESCU: In agreement with the foregoing opinion I would say that for Romanian society the culture of no intellectual nor of any worker can be a mere mental refinement but an instrument of knowledge and self-knowledge, of changing the social reality and raising it to higher values, and of anticipating and prospecting the future and the evolution of Romanian civilization on the road to communism. The dialectical, inherent tie between culture and democracy, culture and social and individual awareness, and culture and professional competence must be emphasized in this connection, and it accordingly illustrates the many implications of culture for promotion of socioeconomic and intellectual progress.

MIHAI TODOSIA: Learning may be classical, philosophical, cultural-artistic or economic. I would call it identical, if you will, with comprehensiveness. As for the intelligentsia, I think that in general we should modify our view a little and accept a somewhat newer view of the intelligentsia, generally considered a social stratum. Regarding it as a "stratum" seems somewhat inaccurate to me. Therefore I should like to present a view here that may merit discussion: I think the intelligentsia is a composite part of the working class and the working peasantry, that is the most advanced part. I do not know why we should not regard the intelligentsia of today as born in the revolutionary process and as an integral part of the working class and the working peasantry. I do not "divorce" the working class from the intelligentsia and the peasantry or the reverse.

RODICA CEPAREANU: Nevertheless I think the intelligentsia is a distinct category in the Romanian social and class structure as a whole, even if some traits appear in the general leveling process that resemble the working class and other social categories. Moreover we also see the objective trend for some broad categories of workers to rise to the status of intellectuals. Intensive development of education, science and culture, improved qualification and general culture of all social classes and categories, and development of socialist construction all contribute to the attainment of that end, which will gradually lead to the formation of a single working people when communist society is built.

MIHAI TODOSIA: I wish to express an opinion in connection with some discussions of these subjects that are still going on. When we analyze the working class, for example, we must consider the effects of the scientific-technical revolution upon its structure and level of occupational training and remember that in the years of socialist construction Romania became one of the countries with the most trained engineers per 1,000 inhabitants. They are an integral part of the collective productive worker of the working class. In view of these considerations, scientific research should approach the questions of the intelligentsia and its place in the system of social structures more boldly.

For a long time it was maintained, unsoundly and implausibly, that the intelligentsia is a social stratum. I have expressed my opinion on that question. The current scientific-technical revolution in full swing and the modern production sectors that have appeared and are still appearing are making the production processes increasingly complex, and their management is primarily entrusted to the specialists and the scientist. Furthermore, in the present period when imperialism is promoting a policy of domination on the international level, internal scientific research and an army of researchers capable of scientific and technological innovation are absolutely indispensable to the defense of independence. Accordingly, regarding the intelligentsia as a mere social stratum could be considered an attempt to undermine its role in society. My opinion is that today the intelligentsia belongs to the working class and the peasantry and that it is the most advanced part of them, completely integrated in the process of building the fully developed socialist society.

CONSTANTIN GHEORGHE MARINESCU: I think we should note the fact that the processes and changes going on in the class structure of Romanian society that the previous speakers have mentioned are also graphically reflected on a national level and in the nationalities structure, that is in the Romanian nation but also in every national minority.

These overall economic, political, social, intellectual and other changes in the class structure, and especially those concerning the working class, can bring about new and qualitatively higher forms of national relations, a gain in the importance of that class in all structures and consequently a new conception and a profoundly revolutionary attitude on the part of the whole ethnic and national community toward the interests and destinies of socialism in Romania and toward the problems facing Romania in each stage of social development, as well as an enhancement of the revolutionary working class spirit in the thoughts and feelings of the nation and every national minority and an intensification of their cooperation and mutual aid and of the entire people's commitment and militant solidarity in the effort to carry out the program for building the fully developed socialist society.

The strong presence of the working class in the whole national structure of the unified Romanian national state means a sound and correct interpretation and manifestation of the relationship between the national and international and between the general and particular, an interaction and combination of every national minority's aspirations and interests with the general interests and ideals of the entire people and all the workers regardless of nationality. Under the impact of the growth and development of working-class leadership and of the worker-peasant structure, we are seeing in every national minority striking manifestations of their national awareness as well as their socialist awareness and of their historical and political sense of responsibility for defense and promotion of the values of socialism.

These new social and class structures also guarantee the repudiation, rejection and denunciation of any forms of national egoism or egocentrism, chauvinism, nationalism, attitudes of national seclusion or vainglory etc., which still occur sporadically. As the bearer and the expression of a vital national and also internationalist awareness, the working class is scrupulously accomplishing its historical mission as the leading class of the revolutionary educational process, while also cultivating in all social strata both the ardent and noble

feeling of boundless love for the common fatherland and the feeling of brotherhood among all Romanian citizens and between the Romanian people and the other peoples who are militating for independence, sovereignty, socialism, democracy and peace.

ELENA PUHA: In my comment I should like to point out, very briefly, a few of the theoretical prospects opened up by the party documents and Nicolae Ceausescu's works which are significant for the guidance of theoretical and practical work on the problems of social and human relations. To return to some of the ideas in the beginning of our discussion, I would mention the value of the concepts of "social and human relations" and "quality of life" as contributions to the development of the theory of social contradictions in socialism.

A number of factors typical of our period (the growing complexity of social existence and the appalling rate of change) and especially factors characteristic of Romania's social development are motivating improvement of human relations as a means to improvement of socialist relations. As mental modalities of social relations, as Mihai Ralea defined them, human relations provide the background for the aspirations and behavior of the personality, as well as the actual, vital content of social relations. Social relations include and subordinate human relations, but the latter "create the existing relations and create them every day," as Marx and Engels said in "German Ideology."

In a discussion on the subject of "Improvement of Human Relations" sponsored by ERA SOCIALISTA in 1979, it was quite rightly pointed out that their field has been inadequately treated in the Romanian literature. Social relations are still studied on the level of generalities, in a descriptive way, with no attention to the changes they have made in the life of the individual and in relations between individuals or the effects of the latter upon large-group relations. As a result the picture of social relations lacks the vital content of specific information and characteristics that only a comprehensive study of daily life and the many parameters determining the evolution of human relations can give us.

Here we see the role that microsociological studies and the interdisciplinary approach to the problems of human relations have to play. There is still the temptation to assume a direct, automatic relationship between integration of the individual in a macrostructure, which provides the value parameters for individual behavior, and the main characteristics of the personality, and between economic and social relations. What is more, due consideration is not given to the contradictions between the social requirements and the individual ones and consequently between social and human relations. Whereas the true value of the decisions concerning social relations cannot be questioned on the level of society as a whole, it should be noted that those decisions are not invariably reflected accurately on the level of personal relations on both the vertical (hierarchic) and the horizontal (collegial).

Thanks to elimination of exploitation and the antagonistic class structure and to social democratization and allocation of the individual in the practical hierarchy of Romanian society's values, the individual has become aware of his possibilities, opportunities and needs as a creator of his own destiny and of society. But human relations on the small-group level have not been restructured to the same extent in Romanian society. Attitudes and behavior are still

operative on that level that originated in some existing defects in political and educational work pointed out by the party secretary general in the conclusions of the Mangalia Working Conference in August of this year, in some cultural cliches distorting principles, standards and values characteristic of socialism, and in the egalitarianism that is substituted for the principle of equality. It is against such phenomena foreign to the socialist system of values and to our life style that we are called upon to take a firm and revolutionary stand not only in theory but also in practice and to create attitudes and behavior in keeping with the principles of socialist ethics. Inadequate civic education and failure of all members of Romanian society to understand the relationships between rights and obligations are among the underlying causes of contradictions between social and human relations.

The Mangalia Working Conference focused attention on the problems of improving human relations by setting the main courses of action for enhancing the effectiveness of political work promoting the revolutionary spirit "in life, at work and in combat. A vital part is played in this process by improvement of management methods and of the approach to and atmosphere of work in collectives by basing the act of management on all levels upon scientific knowledge and humanization of management and by combatting bureaucracy, inhumanity and injustice.

TUDOR GHIDLEANU: The party secretary general has repeatedly pointed out that constructive enthusiasm must be reinvigorated and the new must be cultivated in thinking in order to make a complete break with the old attitudes and situations.

In speaking of the manifold importance of developing the revolutionary spirit as an essential for the formation of all social awareness, Nicolae Ceausescu said in his speech at the Mangalia Working Conference in August 1983 that "Improvement of their professional, technical and scientific knowledge is unquestionably a major requirement for party members and especially for the activists and party and state personnel, but at the same time we must develop the militant revolutionary spirit even more intensively and arm the communists, activists and personnel with revolutionary, dialectical materialist science. Party and state personnel must be good specialists but good revolutionaries as well. They must combine both aspects of knowledge with the spirit of struggle for worldwide revolutionary reform."

Our social universe is a complex of human relations that cannot be left to develop chaotically and entropically but must, by a sustained and purposeful process of political-patriotic indoctrination, improve itself with scientific truth in both industry and agriculture, services and, I would say with no fear of error, absolutely all fields of activity. On such a new basis, social relations will lose their legal implications (unfortunately still frequently negative), strengthen the family, guide the young generation's energies toward cultural goals, keep the birth rate within its favorable proportions, consolidate friendship among all workers regardless of nationality, prevent deterioration of the village and its age-old civilization, etc.

If man is really the sum of social relations, formation of a real science of social-human relations is imminent that can reinstate the coexistence of the Romanian people's values, creations and diverse efforts as well as cultivation of interrelations on all levels of the Romanian national edifice.

In the aetiology of the social, overlooking the strict determinism between the material and cultural conditions weakens the structural, functional and human relations, complicating life's problems. In this area as in the others we are wrong to ignore even one phase or element that could change the good relations. This is a highly responsible political-educational and social-patriotic task constantly assigned us by the CPR documents, regulatory enactments, and laws and decisions published by the Romanian state.

CONSTANTIN GHEORGHE MARINESCU: I shall try to examine some of the ideas previously brought up. It should be noted from the start that it is only the new socioeconomic and political structures, values and realities promoted by the socialist order in their constant quantitative and qualitative development that permitted the profoundly democratic and authentic solution of the minorities problem and the formation of new relations which, being based on the principles of all citizens' fully equal rights in all social activities without discrimination, are serving as a veritable spur to progress on the course of socialist civilization.

In other words, the nature, content and proportions of ethnic relations under socialism have effectively benefited and been directly determined and influenced beneficially by the revolutionary changes made primarily in the politics of Romanian society by the formation of a state profoundly revolutionary and democratic by the nature of its power and reflecting the workers democracy shared by the entire people and all social classes and categories.

On a broader scale, the gains and accomplishments in ethnic relations are products or emanations of the Romanian political system, characterized by a *sui generis* pluralism. In its composition are integrated both the political bodies reflecting the social and class structure of society and the national structures and realities characteristic of Romania. Therefore it is one of the main distinctive features of the Romanian political system that it includes and integrates such bodies as the workers councils of the national minorities, with their major political and social-cultural prerogatives, in addition to the central and local organs of the state power and parliamentary democracy wherein the national minorities are proportionally represented.

The new socioeconomic structures are controlling factors for rationalizing Romanians' cooperation with the minorities on many levels and for consolidating their fast friendship and brotherhood as a quintessential expression of the new socioeconomic relations based on the all-around equality of Romania's citizens and on the other immutable principles consistently promoted in the course of solving the minorities problem such as those of mutual respect, mutual aid, solidarity etc.

The defeatist opinions and tendentious assertions of some backward conservatives or nationalists who think industrialization and modernization of the national economy, development of the productive forces, and the processes of massive urbanization lead to deterioration of ethnic traditions, eclipse of the "minority [minoritic] area," integration of the national minorities, obliteration of their distinctive ethnic features, etc. as well as other such perorations and aberrations that are entirely refuted by the realities of Romania and its experience in solving the minorities problem by wisely combining the classic with the modern, tradition with innovation, historical continuity with discontinuity, and the national with the international.

ALECU FLOARES: I think a few conclusions are in order at the close of the discussion, among which the following may be noteworthy, in a less systematized form: the unprecedented dynamism of the Romania's productive forces, resulting in a constant improvement of social relations in general and production relations in particular; the correctness of the measures taken by the CPR and made fertile by Nicolae Ceausescu's original thinking; and the necessity of regarding social and production relations as one system in the uniform framework of the production method.

The actions taken in Romania secured the advance of the productive forces and production relations in step with construction of the fully developed socialist society. Promotion of socialist economic administration, self-administration and self-management, discovery of the ways the economic and social laws operate in the various stages we experience, and promotion of the economic, political and legal mechanism suited to Romania's actual requirements lend the management process a scientific substantiation and greater effectiveness.

To be sure some of the questions raised at the start of the discussion were evaded and some were not taken up, and there are also some opinions with which we cannot agree. But I do not think we should ever maintain single points only, verified by experience, in these discussions. There are also questions of the future, and views reflecting the personalities, experience and studies of the speakers.

Of course the stages we are to go through will undergo new shaping processes. It is the duty of the economists, philosophers, sociologists and all personnel in the social sciences to study the processes and phenomena in their evolution in greater depth and to propose measures and various suggestions that will help the decision-makers to substantiate the actions they take in order to make them more effective.

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YUGOSLAVIA

PETRANOVIC BOOK ON EARLY PARTY HISTORY CRITICIZED

Zagreb DANAS in Serbo-Croatian 13 Dec 83 pp 42-43

[Article by Dr Zlatko Cepo]

[Text] The latest books of one of our most fruitful historians dealing with recent history, Prof Dr Branko Petranovic, author of "Istorijs Jugoslavije 1918-1978" [History of Yugoslavia, 1918-1978] were written within the framework of the project of scientific research of the Institute for International Workers Movement in Belgrade. They are at the same time the first major attempt to deal with this period problematically. In two volumes, on more than 900 pages, the author describes in detail the situation after the collapse of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia: all the four systems of occupation, one formally independent state (NDH), and a number of Quisling groups--briefly, all the counterrevolution forces. Only the Serbian Orthodox Church is missing. It is mainly mentioned as a protector of Serbian population from the Ustasha knife, and only subsequently it is mentioned that it mainly stood behind Draza Mihajlovic's Chetnik movement, which means behind the Chetnik knife (vol 1, p 250). The other two churches, Catholic and Muslim, are presented in a much darker light. It is not recognized that some representatives of the Catholic Church in Croatia helped and also joined the NOB. The name of Monsignor Svetozar Rittig is mentioned only once, without detailed indication of who he was. What happened with other priests, of whom there were more from Croatia than from Slovenia, we do not know. But these are not essential remarks.

The greatest fault of this book is undoubtedly the fact that it reduces the counterrevolution mainly to Draza Mihajlovic's Chetniks, behind whom the government in exile stood until Subasic, and in a smaller degree to the Croatian Peasant Party and Bjelogardejci in Slovenia. The other's, in the author's opinion, are not counterrevolution, but only occupation. "The Quisling party army (the Ustasha, Serbian Corps) was identified with the occupiers and enjoyed their confidence to such a degree that fighting against them--independently of ethnic identity--represented a war with the external enemy" (vol 2, p 283).

Draza Mihajlovic's Chetnik movement is characterized as the "most significant antifascist phenomenon of the Serbian bourgeoisie which did not succeed in spreading to all the Yugoslav areas or in assembling all the

"Yugoslav antifascists" (vol 1, pp 129-130). It is true that the author on several occasions later mentions that this antifascism was only apparent and declarative, but by proclaiming the Chetniks as the main counter-revolutionary force, because they defended the old regime and the greatest enemy of the revolution, he considerably narrows both concepts, and not only because he devotes a large part of the text to the Chetniks. For example, in the chapter "State-Law Expression of National Ideologies," the communist side is described in 7 pages, the Chetnik-emigre in 24, and the others in 8 pages. There is a similar ratio also in the chapter "Collapse of the Counterrevolutionary Front," where much more is said about the defeat of the Chetniks, although their military forces were three times smaller than those of the Ustasha, under which name the Domobran forces are always included, too.

The author quotes a statement of Tito's in favor of the thesis that Chetniks were the greatest enemy of the revolution, which Tito made in the spring of 1943, at a time of great battles at Neretva and Sutjeska; but he does not take into account when the statement was made. At the moment when Anglo-American troops were in Sicily with the intention of crossing into Italy and then perhaps of landing in the Balkans, which would have been a contribution to the joint struggle against Fascism which Stalin insisted upon, the Chetniks did suddenly become the greatest enemy of the revolution. They sensed their opportunity and tried to settle accounts with the main Partisan forces which were hard-pressed by a strong offensive, in order to secure a large part of the coast for a better reception of the Allies. In this attempt they suffered their greatest defeats to that time at the Neretva and Drina Rivers. Otherwise they were not the main military opponents of the revolution, nor did the Partisans separate them from the others. They were all a "banda" then--a term which was forgotten too soon.

On the European scale, with which the Institute for International Workers Movement is concerned, the victory of fascism in Italy and then of nazism in Germany were the grossest forms of counterrevolution aimed against the revolutionary movements of the proletariat and other poor social strata. A violent policy of revanche, renewal of the Roman Empire or creation of a "new European order" are also the most violent types of counterrevolution. The West European powers understood this very well when they wanted to turn Hitler against the USSR. But this was also understood by Winston Churchill, who refused the Germans' offer of reconciliation at the moment of their attack on the USSR, after they had conquered almost all of Europe. He saw clearly that this would not have been peace but only a truce. Regimes established by the occupiers, which the Quislings supported to a larger or smaller degree and provided their own specific aspect, are also a counterrevolutionary and not an external force. The author himself recognizes this partly, but only in the concluding part of volume 2.

The main carrier of the revolution--the Yugoslav Communist Party--is not presented in the author's interpretation in a much better light than the bourgeois press did at the time. We are quoting a detail.

"As part of the international communist movement, the KPJ on the eve of the war glorified Stalin as the leader of the international proletariat and Georgi Dimitrov as the 'helmsman' of the International, and educated its members on the examples of Soviet struggle and socialist construction. After 1939, members were taught the History of the SKP (b), one of whose authors was 'our teacher,' which meant Stalin. Communists carried the USSR propaganda and inculcated in party members and in masses of people a faith in the USSR. Trust in the Soviet regime and the USSR leaders assumed irrational proportions among members. The USSR was a bastion of peace, an invincible country, synonymous with social justice and democratic order" (vol 1, p 140).

The same evaluation is repeated in the last chapter of volume 2 (p 272), which shows that the author does not sufficiently realize the involution caused by the arrival of the leadership in the country, the refusal of financial help, and other measures. He even doubts whether Tito received authorization for the formation of a new leadership out of the cadres in the country. He writes in a note which accompanies the text--instead of being placed, like the others, at the end of the book: "In 1939 Tito received the mandate of secretary general, according to some historians, but the KPJ statute did not contain this function" (vol 1, p 145). It appears as if Tito was a usurper who imposed himself at the head of the party, like a new Scepan Mali.

In his presentation of the Stalinist character of the KPJ, the author does not realize that the party could not have been different at the time because it could not rely on anybody else. Not to condemn Trotskiism would have meant the danger of being proclaimed a Trotskiite. This can best be seen in the last Tito's meeting with Miroslav Krleza, a premature critic of Stalinism. It is not true that Tito did not quite realize what was happening in the USSR. He knew it, but he realized at the same time that he could not condemn it, or even disassociate himself from it at the time. It was impossible to fight with fascism and Stalinism at the same time. If the party had uttered any criticism, it would have certainly been dissolved and its leaders arrested or liquidated: then the revolution would not have taken place, and the counterrevolution would perhaps have had an antifascist character.

The fact that the author ascribed counterrevolutionary character mainly to Draza Mihajlovic's Chetnik movement and to the government in exile narrowed the definition of the revolution. His text basically leads to the conclusion that where there was no Chetnik movement, there was in fact no revolution either. This is the one-sided approach we emphasized in the title, and now we will describe it more concretely:

In both volumes, Macedonia is mentioned only in connection with Metodije Satorov's attempt to bind Macedonian communists with the Bulgarian Communist Party (vol 1, pp 162-164). There is no word about Svetozar Vukmanovic-Tempo's action to prevent these attempts in the name of CK KPJ, form a new party leadership and lead the uprising, not to speak of subsequent struggles.

Croatia is mentioned mainly in connection with the great communist loss after the unsuccessful escape from Kerestinec (vol 1, pp 193-194) and the predominance of leftist deviations, which certainly were fewer there than in Montenegro. The author interprets the uprising in Croatia mainly as the Serbian population's resistance to the Ustasha terror, which the communists subsequently joined in a clever way (vol 1, p 203). It is known, however, that Croatia together with Dalmatia and Slavonia had at the time the most numerous party organization, not seriously jeopardized even by the Kerestinec tragedy. The first Partisan detachment, was formed immediately after the Axis attack on the USSR and was the first in Yugoslavia, which the book does not mention--consisted of party and SKOJ members who were predominantly ethnic Croatians. This was not important at all at the time! The counting of national origin began later. The author is right when he states that until the first AVNOJ session the national liberation army had a predominantly Serbian character (vol 2, p 83). But why does he not take the next step and tell of the changes that took place on the eve of the second session of AVNOJ, after Italy's capitulation?

It is clear to us that this work does not have as its purpose presenting the development of the revolution chronologically and by territories, but only its basic directions and essential traits. But if on several occasions Srijem is mentioned together with the liberated territory in western Serbia, Montenegro and Bosnia, where the supreme command was and where important political decisions were taken, then we must ask why Slavonia is not mentioned, as almost without interruption there was a liberated territory on Papuk which was very difficult to penetrate, or Gorski Kotar and Lika, and in Kocevski rog in Slovenia there was the same situation. And since we have brought up Slovenia, let us add that it is mentioned only in connection with the Liberation Front and leftist deviations which the author even characterizes as mass executions (vol 1, p 551), which does not agree with the usual understanding of mass action. There were mass murders of Serbs in Croatia and of Croats and Muslims in Bosnia-Hercegovina and partly in Dalmatia, there were mass retaliations against the population in Serbia for the assassination of German soldiers, and mass liquidations in some camps. The adjective "mass" is hardly apt for liquidations of individual Trotskyites and "future enemies of the revolution."

Let us say in conclusion that these volumes, despite good presentations of the counterrevolution and revolution, give a one-sided presentation of the revolution especially, which is partly reduced to the activity of five brigades and other forces around Supreme Headquarters, and to a few enemy offensives and some important consultations. We tried to overcome such presentations earlier by describing our struggle for national liberation and socialist revolution as the struggle of all the Yugoslav nations and nationalities, to which some gave a larger and other a lesser contribution, depending on many circumstances. It is essential, however, to note that all of them were engaged, as evidenced in the AVNOJ decisions which recognized equal rights for all of them. These volumes contain some different attitudes.

It seems to us that such opinions arose later.

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YUGOSLAVIA

LCY HANDLING OF APPEALS, COMPLAINTS DETAILED

Belgrade NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE in Serbo-Croatian No 1718, 4 Dec 83  
pp 20-21

[Article by M. Milosevic: "Who Is Making Complaints to the Party; Abuses of Self-Management, Manipulation of Bidding, Practices of the Courts--These Are Most Frequent Targets of Complaints. Does Scrutiny From Above Threaten Self-Management?"]

[Text] More telling than all the statements about the quality of a political system is the security of the citizens, their chances of protecting their interests and obtaining justice. One notices that the LCY, for example, is often criticized in our socialmilieu because it is not effective nor energetic in implementing precisely this function of promoting justice. It is criticized because it has not eliminated as quickly as possible occurrences of bribery, corruption, abuse, and injustice from society.

On the other hand, the complaints which citizens send to officials and forums of the LCY indicate something else, perhaps a deep faith in the LCY, and the expectations that the party will correct the injustices committed against them by self-management and state organs. A statistical analysis of complaints reveals that their number remains constant. There are complaints which express distrust in the objectivity of some social institutions, and quite a few which question the objectivity and efficiency of the courts.

Between July 1982 and June 1983, for example, the Commission for Appeals and Complaints of the Presidency of the Central Committee of the LCY received 2,660 appeals sent either to the address of the Central Committee or to the address of some of its officials. The majority of the complainants were aware that organs of the LCY are not authorized to resolve these specific, vital questions, but they sought its interest and intervention anyway. Are we to infer from this that only the LCY is believed to be able to influence (and already does influence) these social institutions?

Abuses of Self-Management

It is indicative that a significant number of the complaints refer to those so-called "autonomous" social functions of the judiciary and self-management.

The most complaints are noted in the areas of distribution of revenue, of personal incomes, in the distribution of apartments; actually at the top of the list are those complaints which speak about illegalities and secrecy in the area of employment and labor relations. There were 489 complaints of this type sent before the CC LCY out of a total of 2,660, and they spoke of manipulation of bidding, and about employment through connections, bribes, and letters of recommendation. As Zivko Grubor, president of the Commission for Appeals and Complaints of the Presidency of the CC LCY, told us in an interview for NIN, it is not unusual that conditions of bidding, and even self-management general files, are changed "to suit a desired person." For example, the court cancels bidding, and then conditions are changed in a work organization so that "everything is in order" for the next round. People do not complain because of limited employment opportunities, but because of this type of legal distortion: "They do not complain about there being too little, but about too much misconduct."

Perhaps one should say here that a significant number of complaints indicate a lack of objectivity by the courts, or more precisely, people's conviction that the courts are not objective enough.

According to an analysis of the CC of Yugoslavia Commission for Complaints which agrees with observations we made in the CC of Serbia Commission for Complaints, most of the complainants are workers in direct production and pensioners. Objectively speaking, these categories are perhaps the most threatened socially, and are probably those in which people have the least individual power to influence institutions. Thus, they expect that the party will make up for this.

The number of workers who complain because of an interruption in employment is not insignificant. The CC LCY Commission of the Presidency concluded, however, that most of the complaints in this area were unfounded. Often, they say, the matter concerns undisciplined workers. A certain number of complaints were noted which came from Kosovo, where, after the counter-revolutionary events took place, a certain number of people lost their jobs in education and in other socially sensitive areas. Citing their self-management rights, however, they attempted to have the sanctions against them mitigated.

It is observed, however, that a significant number of workers who received their notice went to an inferior position because of their critical attitude towards the work of responsible managers and self-management organs.

Met at the Bend

This summer, there was a still unsolved case from Kraljevo at the CC LCY of Serbia Commission for Complaints which might perhaps illustrate this type of occurrence more precisely. At the beginning of the year, Nikola Musulin, Branislav Jablanovic, and Miroslav Filipovic, three workers from Autotransport in Kraljevo, wrote an appeal to the CC LCY of Servia Presidency Commission for Complaints concerning abuses of managerial staff in this plant, the illegalities on the occasion of the election of the director, and other

negative occurrences. The Commission of the Presidency of the Republic of Serbia put together a study group and sent it to Kraljevo to investigate the situation, something which is usually done only in those cases in which there is greater social difficulty.

This study group put together some information which was studied by the Commission of the Presidency of Serbia; it then advised many of the state and self-management organs in Kraljevo to clear up the situation; it advised the Parliament of Opstinas "to make an inspection into the normative files of Autotransport," it advised the office of the Public Auditing Service to investigate the matter, as well as the Commission for Complaints to do the same.

Since this was evidently going slowly, Musulin, Jablanovic, and Filiopovic wrote a new appeal to the Commission of Complaints, this time to the CC LCY of Serbia. Now a new party commission went to Kraljevo where it talked to the president of the Committee of the LCY, the secretary of the Presidency of the Opstina Committee of the LCY, the president of the Executive Council of the Parliament of Opstinas, the Secretary of the Inter-Opstina Conference of the LCY, the public defender of self-management, and the president of the Commission for Complaints. One after another, this imposing list of persons said that this surely was one of those difficult cases, but probably they also said that it is sometimes necessary to set in motion all institutions of authority and self-management in order to get done what otherwise should be done on a regular basis without pressure from anyone. The reason that the three Kraljevo workers again appealed to the CC of Serbia Commission for Complaints is probably because the actual signer of the complaint, Nikola Musulin, had received his notice in the meantime. It seems that he had made some mistakes, but probably he was "set up;" this thought comes to mind because of the way things were going in a case in which, we repeat, so many social and political institutions were set in motion, and not without reason. We are told that the Public Auditing Service has made an inspection in the meantime and confirmed that serious irregularities exist at the collective mentioned, and these findings will be discussed as soon as possible in basic organizations of the LCY. As Dragoljub Dragosan, president of the CC LCY of Serbia Commission for Complaints told us, the final hearing will be held in the Presidency of the Opstina Committee in Kraljevo.

This case will unfold and be resolved over the coming weeks, and some space will be devoted to it here only because, among other things, it illustrates quite well how complaints often go together with that tenuous state described in the proverb: "The judge accuses you, the judge condemns you."

Thus the majority of complaints are returned to the areas in which the problem originated. The CC LCY Commission of the Presidency, for example, has requested reports on the final outcome of about 11 percent of the complaints. About 50 percent of these reports say that the complainant's claims were justified, but that they were not entirely accurate. In the remainder of the cases, the reports stated that the complaints were tendentious and untrue, and that the complainants were given maximum help in a normal manner.

## "Scrutiny From Above"

It is not always certain whether the commission will be successful "from above" in changing the relationship of power and providing justice with its intervention, even if it is the party commission. However, it is apparent that the political atmosphere during the last year has changed in an important way in precisely this particular. One gets the impression, perhaps illusory, that the so-called "higher organs" have been more agile recently in dealing with some complaints. This is not always easy because it is perceived in our political life that this, "scrutiny from above" threatens self-management. One should not have to repeat, however, that prominent political institutions have the obligation to defend self-management from precisely what is concealed behind self-management. Among the complaints which come before the Commission of the CC LCY of Serbia, there are quite a few which claim that a "strong connection" exists between managerial structures in some organizations of associated labor and officials of the social-political communities. Just as it is one of the functions of state organs to protect self-management, even with repression if necessary, so it is, of course, that an important function of the forums of the LCY is not to remain neutral in those cases when evidence exists that "self-management" is being used wrongfully against self-management.

## A Warning Light

Indeed, examples of "cases of intrigue" are not completely unknown in the politics of our country--they may be a prelude to political conflicts, cadre conspiracies as ways of discrediting people, and the like.

At one time, the Commission for Complaints refused to consider anonymous complaints because of the danger of abuse. Recently there has been the news of a new decision to consider anonymous complaints anyway. This is because in many cases, unfortunately, the only possibility of breaking up teams of strong and aggressive wrongdoers is to guarantee anonymity.

Complaints are not always only personal. About 50 complainants annually, for example, go to the LCY of Serbia to present their opinion about passivity and irregularities in social-political organizations, delegate structures, and self-management organs. Approximately 10 come to report their observations about hostile activities, and as many as 50 write letters on this theme.

The number of complaints, as we will see, is randomly distributed in our country. However, when an increased number of complaints begins to jump out of this "eccentric distribution," when they begin to appear suddenly from a certain area, this is usually a warning light, an indication that in that area something is not right. Before the opening of the famous Leskovac case in the Serbian LCY, a great number of complaints came from this city, which was obviously a reason for the party leadership in Serbia to analyze the political conditions there. It is interesting that this year, for example, the number of complaints has increased from the Kraljevo and Nis region, a fact which has still not been fully explained.

Complaints most often express those borderline cases where the system does not guarantee adequately the protection of a person's rights with its automatic mechanisms. Of course, they also express increased aspirations because they come forward in precisely those areas where great self-management rights have been issued (which is paradoxical only at a glance). It is precisely for this reason that complaints should not be underestimated--that they are part of a test of the political system, and examinations are underway. One should say here that the conviction of people as to whether justice is attainable or not in our political climate has great political importance. Although it is certain that the elimination of illegal bidding, for example, or the abolition of part-time work, cannot open up so many jobs that it will be felt in the ranks of the unemployed, nor that the removal of those who usurp public housing will provide adequate housing for the increased number of families without an apartment, nevertheless in some public opinion polls the way out of difficulties in these areas, the main way out, is seen in carrying out justice in them. This cannot be underestimated, because belief in the fairness of the system can be an essential influence on the motivation of people, and of course one should not underestimate public pressure on the vanguard to embroider the image of that blindfolded goddess with the sword in her hand on their banner. And this battle will be won only in the subtle resolution of every individual controversial problem.

[Insert] Written and Spoken

The geographic distribution of complainants is not a proportional distribution throughout Yugoslavia. According to the CC LCY Presidency Commission for Complaints, of the 2,660 complaints sent to the CC from July 1982 to June 1983, the most came from Servia with 992 (according to the observations of the Serbian CC Commission for Complaints. Belgrade was the dominant area in Servia, then from Croatia with 442, from Bosnia-Hercegovina with 439, then from Vojvodina with 281, from Macedonia with 208, Kosovo with 152. Slovenia with 64, and Montenegro with 52 complaints. It is apparent that many factors influence this number of complaints--including proximity to "complaint windows," tradition, the relations between people and state organs, etc. Some observations indicate that there are no great differences, at least in terms of number of complaints, between republic party commissions. The structure of complaints is similar for the most part.

However, we will present some statistics which indicate what sort of complaints are brought personally in order to express misfortune, problems, or criticism. From January to June 1983, for example, 812 appeals and complaints (written) came to the CC of Serbia Commission for Complaints, but on this account, approximately 600 people came to voice their protest in person. Those complaining about housing problems numbered 137 or 22 percent, those concerned with employment problems numbered 121 complainants or 20 percent, those complaining about inefficiency of organs of administration and justice numbered 75 or 12 percent. There were 48 complainants or 7.9 percent complaining about usurping of self-management rights. Complainants indicating a passivity of social-political organizations numbered 45, those concerned with property-rights relationships (expropriation, accumulation, and the like) came to 48, or 7.9 percent.

In the most recent period, it has been observed that the number of visits of collectives to state organs has increased. For example, the Parliament of Serbia has been filled on several occasions with groups of farmers who had complained to their opstinas. According to the CC of Serbia Commission for Complaints, there was an initiative for some groups of complainants to come to their offices, but that it had been decided that members of the commission should go in person to those places where the complainants were, thinking that this would be more effective and beneficial.

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